

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1841.

Art. I. 1. *The Administrative Economy of the Fine Arts in England.*
By EDWARD EDWARDS, of the British Museum. London: Saunders
and Otley. 1840.

2. *Letter to Thomas Phillips, Esq., R.A., on the Connexion between the
Fine Arts and Religion, and the Means of their Revival.* By HENRY
DRUMMOND, Esq. London: Fraser. 1840.

THE habit of admiring the beautiful calls into existence ten thousand pleasurable and healthful associations. The works of nature, or rather of the God of nature, being perfect, except so far as the effects of the fall may have marred them, always excite in the highest degree the best sympathies of the inner man. The productions of art also, being excellent just so far as they approach the natural, produce correspondent results; which, whilst on the one hand, we would avoid overvaluing them, yet on the other, ought never to be overlooked nor depreciated. Whatever elevates man, woman, or child, above gross or grovelling pursuits, does good as far as it goes. In the mere way of instrumentality, a glorious picture, a noble statue, a magnificent edifice, or a sublime piece of music, may on some rare occasions have even reached the soul of a sinner. The Almighty who would have all men to be saved, is not limited in His operations. When at Geneva, several years ago, we were in company with a lady whose father received his earliest religious impressions from the awful name JEHOVAH being reiterated with an effect he had never observed before, whilst the band of the Emperor Napoleon, to which he belonged, was performing an oratorio of

Handel. We are fully aware that much difference of opinion may exist on these subjects; but all we would at the present moment contend for is, that the relations of the arts of design with the state, as instruments of national education, open a wide field of inquiry, which, as Mr. Edwards observes, has been less explored in England than perhaps in any other civilized country of the ancient or modern world. 'Yet of late, there have been several indications of an aroused attention to this subject. Associations have been formed for the attainment of objects more or less closely connected with it. Repeated allusions have been made in parliamentary discussions, and committees have been appointed to inquire into our artistic institutions. A central school of design has been established by government, and facilities have been afforded for more free public access to our monuments.' As respects the last, what would our worthy forefathers have thought at the admission of the democracy into the exclusive reserves of the aristocracy? In the good old Tory times, long before the Reform Bill, no one could cross the threshold of St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey without paying at least something; whilst to see all that is to be seen, in those magnificent structures, would have cost an operative countryman from two to three days' wages for his severest labor. Any dreams of a National Gallery, into which the lower classes might walk without paying a farthing, would have proved such a nightmare to British statesmen during the eighteenth century, that the hospital of St. Luke's must have teemed with privy councillors, and Bedlam have emptied the House of Lords!

Vast changes, however, have come over the spirit of the age. Continental revolutions broke down the barriers of class insolence, and admitted all ranks into the Temple of Fame. It is true that *individuals* never were altogether excluded, even when of plebeian origin, or the most lowly extraction; but the novelty of modern days lies in diffusing the benefits of artistic enjoyment throughout large masses of mankind. It was never imagined until lately, in this aristocratic land, that pictures could be of the slightest consequence to the poor; including within that definition most of the untitled, and all who were not rich. We look upon the general admission of the public to Hampton Court for nothing, and to the Tower of London for sixpence a piece, as amongst our noblest intellectual trophies within the last few years. Yet much, very much, still remains to be done. It has been justly remarked, that the position of England in regard to the fine arts is to be determined, not so much by the possession of distinguished professors in one or more of their departments, 'as by that far better criterion,—the degree in which the humanizing influences of correct taste are

‘seen to pervade the population at large, aiding in the development of their best feelings, in the cultivation of their minds, and in the nurture of their public as well as private virtues.’ In a single word, we ought to have artists who can assert and support their claims to be numbered amongst the teachers of their generation. The productions of the easel and the studio must come to possess an upward rather than a downward direction. To this end they must not seek their patrons and scholars within the walls of palaces, mansions, and colleges exclusively, but mainly amongst those who adorn the fire-sides of British domestic comfort. Government, which has been hitherto thoroughly feudalized, could scarcely be expected to act otherwise than discourage the arts, which, whenever cultivated by a people upon a large and liberal scale, have been found to promote the liberty of the many, quite as much as the elegant luxuries of the few. Hence, although ruling over a commercial country, the hands of our political oppressors have borne hardly upon all national attention to the beautiful, even with particular reference to manufacturing industry. The parliamentary committee of 1836 felt compelled to report that the ‘great advantage which foreign manufacturing artists possess over those of our own soil consists in the greater extension of art throughout the mass of society abroad. Art is comparatively dear in England. In France it is cheap, because it is generally diffused. In England a *wealthy* manufacturer has no difficulty in procuring superior designs. Our *affluent* silversmiths have called to their aid the genius of Flaxman and Stothard; but the manufacturer of cheap plate and of inferior jewellery cannot procure designs equal to those of France, without incurring expense disproportioned to the value of the article on which his labor is employed.’

Our author professes himself to be no friend to forcing systems in general, nor does he expect that the mere patronage of government could ever of itself suffice to alter the existing state of things: but his ideas on the subject are expressed as follows:

‘Inasmuch as I believe that our inferiority in the application of design to manufactures, as well as our apathy to the more spiritual creations of art, are to be traced to the one radical defect,—namely, that with us the fine arts have not as yet been trained to take firm hold as indigenous and hardy creatures of the soil, and a necessary part of its common culture, but have, on the contrary, been nursed as exotic luxuries; so I think that in this very preparatory training, there is something which is the natural office of THE STATE to do, and which it alone can do well.’—p. 28. ‘In relation to this, experience would seem to show, that government can do little more to good purpose, than clear away obstructions, and watch that artists and men of

letters, no less than merchants, have a clear field for competition ; suffer no interruptions, either from oppressive fiscal laws, or from monopolizing institutions ; and take no detriment from the want of protection, either national or international, for the fruits of their labor. If, in addition to this, such opportunities as are afforded by useful and necessary public works for the patronage of the highest order of merit are honestly employed, then I submit, the government, as such, will have done its duty, so far as relates to the *direct* encouragement of the fine arts.'—p. 35.

We quite think so too : but then comes the disputed question as to how far the state may advantageously afford the *indirect* encouragement of art, so as to place a truly qualitative education for it within the reach of all. The fine comparison of Lord Bacon is quoted by Mr. Edwards, as inferring that the cultivation of general taste should form a feature of national education ; that it should belong to that part of the tree of knowledge above which the branches begin to shoot off in their various directions. This opinion may be thoroughly reconcileable with the highest appreciation of the value of voluntary and associative exertions. Our author approves himself no very warm friend to state-establishments for religious purposes ; but with regard to education, he conceives that although it is the most universal of all wants, it is least of all to be left to ordinary impulses. Thomas Carlyle, the British Critic, and the Westminster Review, are adduced by him as supporting his view of the matter ; namely, that voluntary educational efforts are least strongly put forth just where they are most deeply required,—that they are uncertain, and fluctuating as to their duration,—that they are unable to cope with special difficulties, such as in the case of factory children,—and that they have too often fostered very narrow notions as to the nature and extent of that instruction which is desirable. His object is, not that these voluntary efforts should be superseded, but that they should be quickened and supported in the greatest possible degree : whilst the state shall stand by, not as an indifferent spectator, but as an intelligent and active friend. He imagines that in no country has high excellence in the arts ever been attained, except by their employment for religious or national purposes ; and that no where have even the humbler applications of art long continued to exist, save in subordination to high attainment in those nobler branches. From the neglect of these points amongst ourselves, he conceives that artists have for the most part addressed themselves to the gratification of personal vanity ; so that what might have assisted to improve or advance general taste and intelligence, has been suffered to produce an opposite effect. He contends that much may be done by government in the way of improving the laws of copyright ; and herein we

quite agree with him. The exercise of intellectual or artistic labor in producing a valuable painting or piece of sculpture constitutes a clear and indisputable right of property; in the possession of which the ingenious designer ought certainly to be protected. He draws, however, a line between the productions of authors, sculptors, painters, engravers, and composers, and those who originate chemical or mechanical inventions: the former having nothing in their nature which ought to limit the term of their secure enjoyment; whilst the latter are less fortunate, inasmuch as *their nature* renders some limitation necessary for the purpose of securing fairness in the race of ingenuity to all inventors of every grade. Here, it seems to us, that a distinction is drawn without a difference. The entire question is one of general utilitarianism. The law of copyright, to be perfect, must strike that accurate medium which will afford the maximum of public advantage together with the minimum of individual inconvenience. Let books, pictures, prints, statues, as well as all sorts of designs, be nurtured by the law, without being rendered ineffective in their results upon the national mind, through that spirit of monopoly which is inherent in our natural selfishness. The real demon, however, to be exorcised from our legislation, as we must again and again repeat, is that of aristocracy; whether it glows from the iris colors of vivified canvas, or sheds its beautiful yet cold disdain from the forms of immortal marble. It is remarkable that such works of sculpture as can be brought within the definition of the 54 Geo. III. cap. 56, are protected for fourteen years, and even twenty-eight, should the artist survive. Patterns for printed linens, cottons, calicoes, and muslins, were only safe for three months, until the recent enactments. Silks and woollens, left to take their chance before altogether, are now added to the others, and the term of protection is extended to a year. Even thrice that period may also be secured by registration for any new manufactural designs unconnected with tissues or textile fabrics. Yet it must not be forgotten that to render these improvements satisfactory, proper means must be had towards resisting encroachment and invasion. Unless the remedy for an injury be cheap and simple, the ægis of the law becomes a mockery, or a burthen, instead of a reality and a blessing! But when shall we expect rich senators to make cheap laws; or nobles with hereditary coronets, and almost regal revenues, to ponder in the balances of equity the difference between a penny and a pound? We are ourselves for various reforms as to our patent regulations, the removal of all fiscal obstructions to ingenuity through the excise on bricks, paper, and glass (each of these articles exercising no slight influence on architecture and the internal arrangements of our

houses), as also for the multiplication to a moderate extent of schools for design.

It would be, moreover, not a little beneficial, were the powers conceded by parliament to municipal bodies, for making improvement rates, only acted upon as they were intended to be. Here government must undoubtedly set the example, and give a tone to the awkward efforts of torpid corporations.

‘ Collections of casts from the best works of sculpture, of ornaments in plaster and in metal, both ancient and of the middle ages, of prints, and of books, and of ornamental designs, such as the French and Prussian governments have caused to be produced on so splendid a scale, are those which are most desirable in our great manufacturing towns. Parliamentary grants, in aid of local rates, to be levied by the municipal bodies, appear to offer the best means of attaining them. Next in importance to these are collections of original and improved machines, models of new inventions, specimens of new and improved fabrics. These might easily be obtained in connexion with an improved law for the protection of patents and copyright. When these wants shall have been supplied, it will be necessary to consider the best means of establishing public galleries of the higher works of art, the want of which, though not operating so prejudicially upon industry, is yet both morally and intellectually a serious evil.’—*Edwards*, pp. 326, 327.

The present constitution of the Royal Academy, of which we hear so much, should also be speedily altered. It combines certain distinct functions incompatible with each other, and with those expectations which the public, who pay for it, have a claim therefore to see realized. It comprehends an assembly of honor for artists,—a school of instruction for aspirants,—and the chief medium for exhibiting their productions. It is justly argued, that to unite the control of honors and exhibitions in the same hands, is to place not only the professional distinction but the means of subsistence of the rising artist, at the absolute disposal of a body of men who at once are his competitors and his judges. Let these conflicting departments then be separated without delay. Let the absurd limitation as to the number of members be removed; let engravers be recognized as full members; and the class of associates be abolished. What will posterity say to the disgraceful fact that no engravers but those of *dies* can now participate in academic honors upon equal terms with their fellow artists? At Rome, Florence, and Milan, not to mention Venice, and some other places, we have had the gratification of witnessing the high estimation in which this order of artists can scarcely fail to be held, where foolish oligarchical prejudices have not as yet biassed the judgment of the public. Each academy in Italy has a resident professor within its establishment to give lectures, and encourage or assist be-

ginners. Even at Paris, engravers hold rank in common with other members of the Institute. But in England, our boasted Royal Academy condemns them to an intermediate state between respectability and disgrace; so that while six of their profession are eligible as associates only, just that stigma of inferiority is put upon them which prevents such men as Finden, Goodall, Robinson, and Raimbach, from entertaining any feeling, save that of contempt, towards an institution thus obstinately refusing to recognize their unrivalled merits. The annual exhibitions ought to be entrusted to an elective committee, uninvested with any exclusive privileges of inflicting fresh paint or varnish on pictures which it may be the interest of certain individuals either to spoil or sell. The fact, however, we fear is an incontrovertible one, that favoritism and monopoly have pervaded in this country the very marrow of society; so that throughout all grades of our fellow-countrymen they grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength; nor can they ever be extirpated, for generations to come, by mild or ordinary remedies.

As might be expected, in the opinion of Mr. Edwards, the state ought to employ artists, as well as educate and honor them. He argues that from the enormous disparity in our social condition, together with all that such disparity involves, the fine or plastic arts should be employed for purposes of general enjoyment and magnificence, in which even the poorest may have their right of property. To this end, he would have government give national commissions to artists of approved ability for pictures of religious and historical subjects, to be placed in our public edifices and galleries; and for works of sculpture, as monuments to our illustrious men. He would also have judicious purchases made from the exhibitions, wherever such instances of artistic success were there displayed as might illustrate national genius. Considerable prizes, he further imagines, ought to be offered to unlimited competition for works of the same class as those included within the national commissions just mentioned. Sir Martin Archer Shee proposed some time ago that £5000 per annum should be funded, and with the interest be applied every third year to the encouragement of sacred and historical pictures, to be divided into three classes, and distributed with much public solemnity. If our readers have already differed in many respects from our ardent and ingenious author, we conceive that many will still further disagree with him in regard to the admission of altar-pieces into churches. 'Pictures are the books of the ignorant, who can see, but who cannot read,' said the synod of Arras, as quoted by Mr. Edwards. Probably we need not remind this gentleman, how strenuous a conviction the first Pope Gregory had, at

least six hundred years earlier, on the point. *Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent.* Lib. vii. Epist. 109, 110 : and see the same in another epistle to Serenus the bishop of Marseilles. Indeed, both the idea and expression would seem to have been borrowed from Porphyry ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. 7. p. 98. Edit. Paris. 1624. Perhaps the generality of episcopalians would agree with, and the great mass of nonconformists dissent from, such statements. Virgil represents Æneas, in the new temple at Carthage, as feeding his mind *picturâ inani* : but how will our author not rejoice in Paulinus of Nola, who endeavored to feed the bodies of a famishing population with pictorial enjoyments, or at least something very like it ? We cite the curious passage, which is not commonly known, for the benefit of the Royal Academy.

‘ Dumque omnes picta vicissim
Ostendunt releguntque sibi, *vel tardius escæ*
Sint memores, dum grata oculos jejunia pascunt !
Dum fallit *pictura famem*, sanctasque legenti
Historias, castorum operum subrepit honestas
Exemplis inducta piis ; potatur hianti
Sobrietas, nimii subeunt oblivæ vini !’

We heartily trust that this cheap method of assuaging the pangs of hunger in our large manufacturing towns may be forthwith adopted, *if there be* any reality in it : whilst not only should the walls of our union houses be covered with frescoes, but for the sake of the *sobrietas potatur hianti*, a coalition ought to be formed between temperance societies and the tasteful academicians of the metropolis. Messrs. Edwards and Drummond are perfectly sincere, and even solemn, in their extraordinary anticipations. The latter sketches out the religious origin of representations in oil and mosaics. He alludes to the edifying tradition of St. Gennadius, who in portraying a head of our Lord, having endeavored to improve it by copying the features of Jupiter, found his right or left hand withering in the profane attempt. The Virgin Mary, according to himself and Professor Burton, might be termed the patroness of painters, ‘ who has ‘ revenged herself upon the Protestants by not assisting them in ‘ this art.’

‘ After the time of Constantine, when the christians were allowed to have buildings exclusively devoted to worship, and when mosaic was the prevailing, if not the exclusive manner of christian painting, a majestic figure of our Lord was usually represented as placed in the pulpit, with the right hand leaning on the book of life, on which were

written in large characters, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' To strike the imaginations of the faithful, on their entry into the church, by the figure of the God-Man, whose mediation they were come to evoke, and to strengthen this impression by the words, which briefly but so fully summed up the mission of the Mediator, was the object of the christian art of painting, in its early grandeur and simplicity. As the knowledge of the mechanical parts of the art advanced, still *religion* was the great principle which guided it, so that the artist who had the consciousness of his high vocation, looked upon himself *as the ally of the preacher*; and in the continual struggle which mankind has to maintain against its own evil inclinations, he always took the side of virtue. In conformity with this principle, at a later period, Buffalmacco, speaking of himself and his brother painters, says, *Non attendiamo mai altro che a far santi e sante per le mure e per le tavole, ed a far percio con dispetto dei demonij gli uomini piu devoti e migliori*; 'We painters do not attempt any thing but to make holy men and women by means of walls and boards; and by these means to make men, in spite of devils, more devout and better.'—*Drummond*, pp. 6, 7.

Now, we cannot think that any one, who has cast his or her eye over this present article, will accuse us of being indisposed to admit the just claims, which painting in particular, or the fine arts generally, may have upon our attention. We have even gone the length of allowing that, in very rare instances, the Holy Spirit of God has made use of certain exquisite productions to affect the understanding, or influence the heart. But the two gentlemen before us go very much further, in this respect, than we can accompany them. Their enthusiasm, we had almost said their fanaticism, so carries them away, that they forget the only kind of religion which is really worth any thing for eternity, as well as the usual means of promoting its success according to the word of God. It has been our lot to see, and that too with untold delight, most of those specimens of the plastic art, which common consent has pronounced to be the finest in the world. We have also witnessed, though with very different feelings, a good deal of that sickly sentimentalism which so unhappily distinguishes our fellow countrymen abroad, when contemplating the works of first-rate masters. Our duty therefore, as journalists, calls upon us to reprobate and protest against all this enervating and ostentatious display of intellectual emotion, which stands not more opposed to the best standard of taste than it does to the interests of genuine religion; although both these venerable names are miserably prostituted by persons who, neither understand the one, nor comprehend the other. Intellectualism is never to be despised, as we have repeatedly intimated; but neither must the fact be forgotten, that it may be, and generally is an entirely distinct affair, from

the vitality of that knowledge which converts, and which alone saves a soul. We have seen the most secular and even sensual minds more deeply moved than we would venture to describe, before the Transfiguration of Raphael, in the Vatican,—or under the dome of St. Peter's, when the blazing cross used to be exhibited on the eve of Good Friday,—or at the Miserere in the papal sanctuary: and yet these very individuals, when the spectacle has terminated, have returned like the dog to their own licentiousness again, or like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire! Such religious impressions, if deserving that name at all, are but the contortions of a corpse when in contact with the wires of a galvanic battery; the illusive and horrible imitations of a genuine quickening of the inner man! Or to adopt another illustration of what we mean, they may be described as the varnish of sepulchres, in contrast with the manifested beauty of holiness, in the temples of the living God! We should be grieved, indeed, with all our honest admiration for, and willingness to advance the fine arts, were the expectations of our authors to be extensively entertained. Their bitter disappointment, in following such vain shadows, will be speedy and inevitable: nor is their immediate influence on the judgment at all sound or healthful. Thus, we have Mr. Drummond telling us how, in better ages than our own, the primitive missionaries received pictorial instruction as to the mode whereby the heathen were to be converted. He represents the walls of convents as displaying before a juvenile but devoted apostle, his noviciate, his labors, his sufferings, and his successes, in vivid hieroglyphics. The preacher was then and there delineated in his addresses to the Saracens;—men might gaze upon beforehand, or afterwards, his consequent flagellation by order of an incensed Soldan,—the ultimate decapitation of himself and his companions, or converts,—and finally the faithfulness of their severed heads, in continuing 'faithful to the death, and still 'speaking to the attentive and no doubt astonished multitude! 'Such was the life of a missionary, and such the method by 'which he was instructed in the same, *in the best times of the church*, and such it is still in the Romish communion. What 'it is in *the things called missionary societies, amongst Protestants*, we know too well.'—p. 8. We regret to perceive this malignant sneer at the noblest institutions of our day reiterated in subsequent pages.

And does Mr. Drummond gravely imagine, that this is the way to conciliate the sober, reflecting, and religious sections of our population, to become more and more friendly to the fine arts, or countenance governmental exertions on their behalf? This gentleman, we perceive, from several statements made by himself, is what may be termed, to avoid a periphrasis, a zealous

Puseyite. Just let us suppose him an influential member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or on the committee of the Church Missionary Society, in Salisbury Square ; especially since they have recently handed themselves over to the prelacy of the establishment. Fancy him making all conceivable exertions for the benefit of the plastic arts at home, and the diffusion of christianity abroad, by getting employed a large portion of the pence levied from the poor, and of the pounds gathered from the rich, in rendering the walls of the Islington seminary frescoed like catholic convents, or adding to the clergymen and schoolmasters in India, Jamaica, and New Zealand, a corps of artists from the Royal Academy ! Yet this would be very consistent teaching on his part, upon his own principles and plans, *per le mure e per le tavole*, by walls and painted tablets ! The subject, however, is far too serious a one to handle after a facetious manner. We are rather reminded of the scriptural assertion, ‘ God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, and base things of the world, and things which are despised hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence.’ 1 Cor. i. 27—29. Our readers will henceforward be able to understand such lugubrious paragraphs as the following :—

‘ From the time of the Reformation, well founded complaints have resounded on every side respecting the decline of the arts. As their advance was commensurate with the faith and zeal of the church, so their decay has been but the outward and visible sign of that faith and that zeal being gone !’—*Drummond*, p. 21.

‘ But never has Protestantism produced any thing in the highest department of the art of painting. In vain will be sought any super-human expression of purity, holiness, and sanctity, in any protestant painter. They may paint old men’s beards and magic effects of light like Rembrandt ; they may show all the knowledge of drawing, and of the mechanism of coloring, that Rubens could produce, but they have not become like the artists of the *golden age* of painting, because there is neither in them, nor in the public, the religious feeling which alone can inspire them.’—*Drummond*, pp. 23, 24.

That golden age of painting, be it remembered, was one in which a prostituted priesthood had nearly succeeded in withdrawing from a fallen, and therefore a darkened world, the sunshine of the word of God ! It was an age during which those same men had succeeded in lengthening the creed, and in shortening the commandments ; in taking away the key of divine knowledge, so that they would neither enter into the kingdom of God themselves, nor suffer others to enter it ! Verily it *was* a golden age, at least in the sense of an

Established Church, having allied herself with the state, and said unto gold, 'Thou art my hope, and to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence!' Probably no artists have arisen since the days of Leo the Tenth, to compete with such geniuses as Raphael, Michael Angelo, Correggio, and the wonderful brotherhood of the Caracci,—all this we candidly admit. But protestantism, blessed be God, has fought for, and earned, and borne away far more immortal trophies than those of painting, music, sculpture, or architecture. Its laurels are unfading, for they are planted upon the Rock of ages. If it has failed to call into fragile existence those vivid and variegated colors, which flourish through successive centuries, only at last to decay;—it has nevertheless been the instrument of giving birth to living characters, which, as Milton somewhere says, 'shall survive the circle of three hundred and sixty degrees, and which owe no homage to the sun!' It has restamped the image of the living God, in hues, and forms, and lineaments, to endure for all future ages. It has awakened the matchless energies of such christian heroes as Henry Martyn, a Williams, a Marshman, or a Carey. It has preached the gospel, and delivered the volume of inspired truth to thousands of thousands. It has blown the silver trumpet of salvation amidst the snows of Labrador and Greenland; it has roused into spiritual life the torpor of the tropics; and planted the Rose of Sharon amongst the wildest sands of Africa! These are its results—these are its triumphant achievements. What an ancient painter said absurdly, if not blasphemously, *Pingo in æternum*, protestantism, in the teeth of such taunts as these publications cast upon her, may venture to utter, in all humility, and without presumption. Her hallelujahs will swell the chorus of heaven, when those of Handel and Haydn shall have been long forgotten. Her sculpture has been expended upon memorials more lasting than marble; her architecture is that of the skies, the house not made with hands, eternal, in a world of glory! Messrs. Edwards and Drummond may rest assured, that we love the arts as well as every thing else which may multiply or augment in any manner the welfare of our fellow-creatures, quite as much as they can: and if we love protestantism and vital religion more, than from their printed pages they would themselves appear to do, they must accept this latter circumstance as an apology for these somewhat indignant expressions, which we hold to be righteous ones, when palpable disrespect is shown towards efforts for diffusing evangelical christianity, on such a scale as might almost command their admiration, even if failing to excite their sympathies. We have only to mention in conclusion, our further total dissent from the efforts made to open the National Gallery and British Museum to the public on Sundays; even

although this proposal be speciously masked as to its ultimate results, by a limitation 'to those hours during which public-houses are by law allowed to be open.' Mr. Edwards, we believe from sincere and upright motives, heartily wishes its success. We are no friends to the abuses of public-houses, or the sabbath profanation they occasion, on the one side; nor do we admire the vagaries of the worthy Sir Andrew Agnew in an opposite direction. To look at a picture, or some specimen of curiosity, even on the Lord's day, is undoubtedly a comparatively better engagement than the ale-bench, the gin-palace, or the tea-garden. But what is *per se* essentially wrong does not admit of such legislative comparison, as would let in a recognition, that what it attempts to restrain is, in itself, innocent or innocuous. Although acts of parliament are not the scriptural or correct means of coercing people to love the privileges of our Sundays, yet woe betide that fatal day which shall witness a protestant government ostentatiously enlisting itself on the side of Sabbath desecration. An established church attempted the sort of thing in the seventeenth century, and we know how that terminated. The French terrorists repeated the experiment within the last fifty years, and in lines of blood and fire they that run may have read the result. Let the fine arts flourish as ornaments in their natural and proper places by all means, yet without being permitted to sap the foundations of national morality, or prostitute the glories of protestantism at the feet of what, after all, is only part of that fashion of the world which is quickly passing away!

Art. II. *The Horæ Paulinæ* of W. Paley, D.D., carried out and illustrated in a Continuous History of the Apostolic Labors and Writings of St. Paul, on the basis of the Acts, with Intercalary Matter of Sacred Narrative supplied from the Epistles, and elucidated in Occasional Dissertations. By JAMES TATE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. Longman and Co. London. 1 vol. 8vo.

A PART from the great Founder of christianity, history, whether sacred or profane, can present no character equal in interest and importance to that of St. Paul. His conversion gave a check to Jewish persecution, and an impulse to the christian cause, which was felt wherever either Judaism or christianity was known. It supplied an argument for the truth of christianity which could not be resisted, and has never been answered. And no single individual by his character, labors, and writings, ever produced such an impression while he lived, or left behind such results as permanently remain, in the revolutionized con-

dition of the whole civilized world. His life and travels, his sufferings and successes, the wonderful things he experienced, and the equally wonderful things he accomplished, would supply matter for the deep ponderings of philosophers, as well as entertainment for the lovers of the romantic, were it not that religion pervades the whole; hence those who seek philosophy without religion, and those who love excitement without instruction, or the romantic beyond the limits of truth, never recur to the history of St. Paul as a narrative replete beyond parallel with all that is wonderful, exciting, and improving.

His early character and doings bore, indeed, a portentous aspect towards the christian cause. He was just such an agent as the Council at Jerusalem required; and no authority which they could have given him would ever have been withheld, as long as he sought it for the extermination of the new religion. His acquirements, natural energy of character, connexions, and associations, as well as the scenes of his youthful days, had all contributed to make him a resolute and reckless waster of the despised, and no less feared than despised, sect of the Nazarenes. In proportion as his character was prized by the heads of the Jews, and his services important to their cause, so must have been the intenseness of their mortification and the bitterness of their rage, when *they* lost, and when christianity gained, the support of a man who threw the entire energies of his soul into whatever he espoused.

All the circumstances, too, of his conversion were calculated to spread dismay through the camp he forsook, and to inspirit, as by a voice from heaven, the defenceless and already scattered champions of christianity. But God had designed his conversion to impart a new impulse to the cause of Jesus Christ, and himself to be a chosen vessel to bear the divine name before kings, and rulers, and judges. Threatening, therefore, as were the first years of his manhood, and fearfully as the disciples must have regarded his first furious assaults, improbable, as they no doubt all deemed it, that his course would be altered or his character changed, yet He who has the hearts of all men in his hands, had conceived the mysterious and glorious purpose to transform this reeking compound of bigotry, cruelty, and rage into one of the very chief of the apostles, and one of the most successful preachers of that gospel which was designed to bless all nations of the earth. Hence the whole of his history, labors, and sufferings is replete with interest and instruction. It is not wonderful that the christian church should have made his travels the subject of much learned research; and considering their extent, the absorbing interest and immense variety of the incidents and circumstances connected with them, as well as the distance of time and paucity of documents, it is not wonderful

that difficulties should have arisen in the attempt to place the whole in the form of a regular and connected narrative. Much interest attaches even to the imperfect outline which has been preserved by the sacred penman, and learned ingenuity has been well repaid for the efforts it has made towards placing the sacred narrative in a complete and continuous order. In almost every new scene which presents itself, we behold the christian philanthropist in the full swing of his energy and zeal, the christian hero in the vigorous exercise of his heaven-descended principles, cheering and enlivening all by the freshness and animation of his faith and hope.

Conquerors have travelled into 'foreign lands and realms 'remote,' have braved all perils and encountered all hardships, only to gather the fruitless laurel which was doomed to fade upon the victor's brow, or to establish a bloody and hated dominion over men as brave but not as skilful as themselves, or merely to make their own and their country's name a watchword for robbery and oppression:—philosophers have travelled through deserts and across oceans to view the desolated scenes of ancient glory, or nature's sublimest wonders; and the results of their toil may all be comprised in a few accessions to some museum of curiosities, some additions to our knowledge of nature:—the wealthy and the gay travel to see the world, converse with strangers of different nations, amuse their sense with novelties, regale their appetite with foreign dainties, and speed by perpetual change the flight of their otherwise dull and leaden-winged hours:—philanthropists have travelled to communicate and to learn improvements in social affairs and useful arts, to alleviate the sufferings of the captive, and improve the prisoner's hard lot. Such have been seen, and may still perchance be seen, moving over large spaces of the earth's surface, though their travels are few and far between. The world readily applauds the motives and ends of its votaries; and most travellers are like the world, selfish and low in their objects. Yet philanthropy has had its meed of praise, especially when it has risen no higher than this life, and taken no range beyond the bounds of time and space. The christian missionary, from St. Paul downward, must look for little sympathy, for little admiration, from those whose sensibilities are confined within the contracted circle of self, and whose interests and susceptibilities are as completely earthbound as ever miser's heart was by his coffers. But we who are christians must be allowed to claim a place at least for this first, most enterprising, and most extensive of christian missionaries, 'above their history, above their 'fable;' we must be allowed to set him forth like the angel seen in the Apocalypse 'standing in the sun;' or more appropriately, like that other angel which John saw 'flying through the midst

' of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to them ' that dwell upon the earth.' His career was one of surpassing and imperishable glory. Though he sought not honor of men, yet because he directed his unwearied and self-denying efforts to the salvation of men and the glory of God, he has attained a renown which shall endure for ever, and raise him high in immortal blessedness, when all the heroes of this false and fugitive world shall be forgotten.

The sublime object at which the apostle and his fellow laborers aimed, identified them in their hopes, their efforts, and their sufferings with the Son of God himself. Embarking in his cause, and influenced by his love, they went forth upon an enterprise of surpassing magnitude and difficulty, but of unbounded beneficence. They had received a high behest; they engaged in an errand, as they rationally and conscientiously believed, of supernal grace. Human difficulties were not considered, natural obstacles were disregarded. They believed, yea *felt* themselves, girt with omnipotence, the special heralds of that supreme authority which bade them go. The world lay all before them. Wherever they turned, they saw thousands and tens of thousands of busy, sinful, miserable mortals, intent upon the vain, unsatisfactory, but still repeated drama of this life, from which one after another, generation after generation, they went out unblest and hopeless. These myriads almost without end they contemplated by the light of the christian revelation, as sitting in darkness though destined to immortal existence, held by degrading and debasing superstitions, the slaves of every vice that can be named. With all their wealth, their literature, their science, and their eloquence, these hosts of nations were yet sold under sin, and were as abject in their moral feelings as miserable in their anticipations of futurity.

In tracing the history of the propagation of christianity under this distinguished and extraordinary leader, we are struck with two things; *first*, the universal opposition it had to sustain from the ancient superstitions, from the deep-rooted prejudices, and even from the intellectual habits of mankind; and, *secondly*, the sharp and startling contrast which it presented, in its entire construction and contents, to the prevailing and most venerated theories of religion which it proposed to assail and supersede.

We shall offer a few words upon each of these observations.

1. It is a proof of the malignant and immoral character of those theories that, differing as they did materially from each other, they all agreed in their resistance to the light of truth; they all came forth in the violence of burning rage, and with the utmost combination of their strength, to crush the intruder, and resent the insult offered to their divinities. At first, indeed, the men were looked upon as insignificant fanatics; the matter was treated

with contempt, and the tolerance with which heathens had treated each other's superstitions, was for a time extended to the new sect, which was viewed as only a variety of Judaism, a system which had long since ceased to create any alarm or jealousy among the priests and oracles of polytheism. But after a time, the totally different spirit and aspect of christianity, as essentially proselyting, and already making head with a rapidity and boldness that surprised and mortified the idolaters, became better understood. The distinction was forced upon the heathen world by observing that the Jews were the first to take alarm, and array themselves against the advances of christianity.

All sects and parties were, therefore, made one in opposing the gospel, though it brought to its defence no violence, marshalled no armies, and trusted to no shield and buckler but the righteousness and truth of its morality, the reasonableness and obvious advantage of its doctrines and consolations. It only sought to shower benedictions upon mankind. Yet all were unanimous in resisting its progress, and that too by means which could not be employed in its defence. Its friends were called to sustain the fury of a world in arms, a power which seemed to threaten its speedy extermination. The advocates fell, but the cause advanced. Its enemies triumphed in the conflict with individuals, but their success against the men proved their defeat and discomfiture in the argument. Though this fact has been often noticed by writers on the evidences of christianity, yet we doubt whether it has been so fully discussed as it deserves.

The success of the gospel under all the circumstances of the case appears to us to afford a very powerful argument in support of its divine origin; for we cannot conceive of any system accomplishing the triumphs which every where attended it, and in the face of that formidable array of difficulties, unless it had avouched itself alike by its adaptation to the nature of man, and by the most commanding miracles wrought in its behalf. Let but the fact be duly weighed, that christianity in its early struggles never won a single convert by coercion; that its entire success was achieved in harmony with the reason and free will of man, and that even its most inveterate foes were frequently transformed into devoted advocates; and further, that this was its uniform course in every distinct nation, repeated again and again, age after age, and we shall have an argument in favor of its divine authority which can neither be answered nor rationally resisted. Let the opponents of christianity explain these facts, in all their force and fulness, if they can, upon the supposition that christianity was an imposture. The elaborate attempt of Gibbon has utterly failed, even with the aid of many

false assumptions, the exposure of which has indelibly fixed upon his name the charge of malignant prejudice, sophistical logic, and historical dishonesty. His polished shaft recoiled against himself, and no volunteer from the same camp has ever dared again to take it up.

2. Attention may be directed to the marked contrast, in point of moral principle, abstract truth, rational statement, and general consistency, excellence, and completeness of theory, which the gospel afforded, when brought into comparison with those various systems of polytheism and idolatry with which it had to compete and conflict for the mastery over human nature. Those systems were characterized by absurdity, immorality, and inconsistency. They exhibited no distinct notions, but were full of confusion, fluctuated continually, and labored fruitlessly after just and rational views of the universe. They set up gods many and lords many, but among all their authorities there was no harmonizing will, no presiding supremacy, no controlling power. To the intellect and heart of man they presented no commanding, no elevating, no pathetic, no paternal view of Deity. The entire soul of man was never brought under those prostrating, purifying, and ennobling views of the universal Creator and Lord, which were essential at once to its improvement and its happiness. But, on the other hand, the vices of man's own nature were all immensely reinforced by the patronage and sanction they received from the practice of the deities. The Pantheon was but peopled with sinners, male and female, of a ranker and more gigantic growth; and all the ideas of earth were but magnified and aggrandized into the Olympian hierarchy, by the fictions of poetry and the machinery of miracle and apotheosis. The whole conception, though a sublime effort of the diseased imagination of mankind, formed but a crude and despicable system of theology, as discreditable to the infinite majesty and excellence of God as pernicious to the highest interests of mankind. It was a substitution of fancy for reality, of falsehood for truth, of the merely *finite*, distorted and distended into a vast and illusive inanity, to supply the place of the really *Infinite*, which no effort of reason had been able to reach, and no vigor of imagination to conceive.

Christianity burst upon this confused and putrefying mass like a ray of divinest radiance shot from the eye of God himself; revealing alike the exalted source from which it emanated, and the chaos on which it fell. It was not merely a mirror held up before the hideous visage of idolatry, but it was like an orb of condensed and focalized light piercing to the very *penetralia*, and searching all the inward hidings and retirements in which polytheism had entrenched itself. To the mass whose element was darkness, and who lived and batten upon the fruits of idolatry, it became an insupportable annoyance, but to

multitudes it was made the power of God to salvation. It dissipated their ignorance, elevated their degraded affections, inspired the hope of immortality for which they had pined, and renovated as with a fresh spring of life all the powers and aspirations of their nature. Heathen superstition had been full of fear and terror. It had exacerbated rather than assuaged the consuming fever of man's heart, by the license it gave to sin. But christianity applied a powerful remedy. It proffered both a pardon and a cure. It cleared up man's view of the Deity and his government, by presenting both a just God and a Saviour. Every system of idolatry had proved but a scheme of Satan's devising—to indulge and strengthen the worst passions of human nature. But christianity proclaimed eternal enmity to moral evil. It held no truce with rebels against the divine government and authority; it offered no soothing palliative to guilty consciences; and presented neither spectacles nor promises to feed or amuse prurient imaginations,—but led at once the guilty and miserable who were penitent, of whatever nation under heaven, to that only place where peace and hope could dawn upon their spirits—the footstool of their offended Father and Sovereign.

All human systems had proved palpably inadequate to minister to man's consolation in seasons of affliction, and when his spirit, driven from things seen and temporal, looks within itself for the well of water springing up unto eternal life. Then their insufficiency and emptiness had been painfully felt; they were proved by their unhappy and disappointed votaries to be dreary and fruitless as a desert, comfortless and shelterless as the top of a rock. But the religion of Jesus Christ gave to the future a fixed character, and caused it to cast its shadows and its beams beforehand. Human hopes were taught by it to penetrate beyond the boundary of human existence; they took hold upon the infinite and the eternal. They descried the pathway through the wilderness of this life, and into the gate of immortal blessedness. Man felt that in believing the gospel he rested upon omnipotence, and drew down divine strength to enable him to tread that path with alacrity, and vanquish all the enemies that disputed his progress. The gospel opened to his contemplation a world of wonders, and spread before him a field of discovery, a mine of spiritual, moral, and religious truth, which gave play to his intellect, and brought all his faculties into a new sphere of thought and feeling, rich with instruction, improvement, and delight. What a day of pure and heavenly light thus burst upon the Gentile nations! What a tide of inestimable blessings did this river of God convey to the barren shores of this apostate world!

Yet was the enterprise of overthrowing and eradicating idol-

atry one of infinite difficulty, toil, and peril to the devoted agents whom providence called to the task. They girded themselves to this tenfold more than herculean labor, with a self-devotement, a spirit of heroism and of cheerfulness which, had it risen no higher than patriotism, would have won for them the admiration of the world through all human generations. Poetry and genius would have woven their laurels, and epics rivalling the *Iliad* would have celebrated their deeds. But they were *philanthropists*, philanthropists of the highest class and sublimest principles; and, because they followed the Prince of philanthropists, they were doomed to persecution and contempt from the world which they labored to bless and save.

Even the church, which term ought always to have signified their successors, not by the ceremony of ordination, but by an indubitable inheritance of their christian spirit and christian principles, has not done them justice, and has certainly failed to perpetuate their character, though glorying in their names and invoking their sanction. Too often the sarcasm of the Italian painter has been undeniably applicable, who represented Peter and Paul in an altar-piece with alarmingly red faces, and when asked his reason by the bishop of the place, replied that they were blushing for their successors.

The degeneracy of those who vainly boast that they have come in the place and with the authority of the apostles has proved the chief stimulus to infidelity. For had all the followers resembled the leaders in this cause, there would have existed little need at the present day to indite elaborate treatises upon the christian argument. The records of primitive christianity, verified by its living examples, would have adequately attested its truth and authority. The ancient church, however, is not to be estimated by the standard of the moderns, and it is still necessary for the defence of the gospel to refer gainsayers to the incontestible verity of the only authentic document. Tradition is corrupt and worthless from its very source. And in the present day there is stronger reason than ever for repudiating its dogmas. The record alone can avail to purify the church and fortify it against the assaults of infidelity.

Dr. Paley, in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, constructed an argument as convincing as it was novel, and few writers on the evidences have done better service than he did by this ingenious essay. It is not left for us to pronounce its eulogy or bring it into notice. The work by Mr. Tate, to which we now call attention, is in fact an attempt to perfect Paley's treatise, by contributing additional light to the orderly arrangement of the travels and labors of Paul.

The author's plan will be best learned from his own expla-

nation, a part of which we shall here transcribe from his introduction.

‘When Dr. Paley remarked, in his *exposition of the argument of the Horæ Paulinæ* (p. 9, as here reprinted), that his own subject, in that work of unrivalled merit and originality, had never been proposed or considered in the same view before, it is much to be lamented that he did not advance one step further in his reflections. It might have occurred to his mind, that neither Ludovicus Capellus, nor Bishop Pearson, nor Dr. George Benson, nor Dr. Lardner, in the continued history of St. Paul’s life, which each of them had written, made up from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles joined together, could have given the whole of that history under its only true and natural aspect. They were not qualified to give it so; inasmuch as not one of those authors, however successful as to some of the epistles, had been fortunate enough to take the whole of them in that just succession which Dr. Paley’s own labors in the *Horæ Paulinæ* have so admirably contributed to point out and establish.

‘If happily for the cause of sacred learning Dr. Paley had thus reflected, he must have felt that a great desideratum, therefore, remained: and if he had then bent the powers of his mind to the task, such a complete narrative, in a correct and clear arrangement of all the materials for it, might have been the result, as would have left nothing to regret in that great line of apostolic literature.

‘But what is the consequence now? Numerous and important as the points are, bearing on the apostle’s personal history, which have their incidental illustration in the *Horæ Paulinæ*; yet for want of some collective retrospect to exhibit the points so gained in a distinct line of view, the value of his admirable work is even yet perhaps imperfectly estimated, while the further task, to carry out those great beginnings of the *Horæ Paulinæ* into something like a regular narrative, after the lapse of fifty years, is left for other hands, however inferior, to execute.

‘In the pursuit and execution of a design arduous enough, as a christian and as a scholar, I have, with God’s blessing, honestly done my best. The faithful labor now of some years has been assiduously devoted to the employment; and it would be an affectation of humility to dissemble the hope that these efforts will be found not to have been bestowed in vain.

‘It must be immediately seen, that in tracing my course through the Pauline epistles, Dr. Paley’s chart has been steadily kept in view; but it will be evident also, that I have not failed to take accurate observations of my own. On this point, indeed, every attentive reader is enabled to judge for himself. The passages in the *Horæ Paulinæ* are referred to more frequently, perhaps, than the occasion may always demand, and the texts from the New Testament are produced or quoted with similar exactness. The object of the work, in whatever degree it is satisfactorily effected, will be to exhibit in a clearer light than before the series and succession of the labors and writings of St. Paul in every stage of his apostolic course, and to develop the cir-

cumstances of every person and place at all important, with which the Acts or the Epistles represent him connected. In speaking thus largely, however, of the design on which these pages are occupied, as a solemn protest against misrepresentation, let me now declare, that I do not believe one fact in the least affecting the historical evidence of christianity, much less one word of truth necessary to the salvation of its followers, remains in these days, or can remain, for human ingenuity to discover and demonstrate. And yet so long as ever the christian student shall take an interest in contemplating the truths and evidences of our common faith, no sincere attempts like the present to improve the clearness and consistency with which it may be historically viewed, will ever be unnecessary or even be unwelcome.

‘My plan of proceeding in this work is easily seen on the inspection of its contents. The Acts, of course, constitute the basis of the sacred narrative; while such facts and circumstances, omitted in the direct history or slightly touched only, as can be supplied from the epistles, in the place which invites their insertion, are duly incorporated with the Acts. But this is generally done in a manner so plain, and favorable for consulting and verifying, that the reader can instantly refer to the particulars concerned, and judge on inspection for himself. The use which is here made of ‘undesigned coincidences’ to complete or qualify passages in the apostolic history, forms a very essential part of the work, as the references to the *Horæ Paulinæ* will sufficiently show. Something also will be found to be done, where the coincidences, when seen, are direct and obvious enough; and that, in some cases, where, without close and patient investigation, the light thrown from one passage on another could not have been elicited. Additions of this latter kind, when they occur, must be left to the reader to appreciate. . . .

‘On the subject of *chronology* some further account of what has been done may naturally be expected. And here let me say very candidly, that the task of chronological research, strictly so called, I have regarded, not as lying out of my way, but as a very fit subject for separate inquiry. I have set myself, therefore, to investigate and determine the series and succession of the principal events in the line of apostolical history, without making any attempt to calculate exactly the period of time betwixt every one great point in that line and every other. It may not be always true, but in this department of sacred narrative it can hardly, I think, be denied, that the *succession* of events, if once ascertained, may throw light on the calculation of *intervals*; while no intervals, that I can see, are yet by a general agreement so certainly defined as to afford a safe clue for adusting the succession, where that is otherwise matter of dispute.’

Mr. Tate presents to his readers, first, six chronological tables of the principal events in the life of the apostle. He arranges his journeys under four progresses, each of which occupies one table, with the exception of the third, which on account, we suppose, of the fulness of the incidents, is divided into two; so occupying the first five tables with the four pro-

gresses, the sixth table presents the thirteen epistles which bear the name of Paul, in their just order of time and place. The seventh and last table includes miscellaneous articles on questions arising out of the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, such as the following :

The posteriority of the Council of Jerusalem in Acts xv. to the journey related in the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. ii. 1—10, shown by the total discrepancy of the two narratives.

On the early date of the Epistle to the Galatians.

On the *vision* and the *thorn in the flesh*.

On the Corinthian transactions, as Timothy and Titus are concerned.

On Luke, his gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles.

On the question of Paul's visit to Spain.

On the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This latter article is, we conceive, out of place, since as Mr. Tate agrees with most other scholars in attributing it to the apostle, it might without any impropriety have been placed in the chronological table of the epistles.

The author adds what he calls an *index of persons and places*; of course only of some persons and some places mentioned in the history; but they include most of the principal persons, though only four places are noticed—Illyricum, Jerusalem, Malta, and Troas; and these not for the sake of describing them, but of noticing how often and on what occasions they were visited by the apostle. The selection of these appears rather capricious. The apostle's visits to many other places equally entitled them to be included in the list.

But it is not our intention to dwell on these minor matters. The entire work is one of so much importance and value, both in reference to a continuous history of the apostle Paul, and the completion of Dr. Paley's original argument, that we hesitate not to give it our warmest commendation. It is a clear accession to our biblical apparatus, and will form an important article in all future introductions to the study of the New Testament.

It is, however, of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of taking from it any extract that could prove interesting to our readers. It forms a continuous narrative in the words of the sacred text, with only such connective portions and explanatory paragraphs, as were necessary to satisfy the reader that the author had good reasons for placing particular events and narratives in the order in which they are found.

The great excellence of the work consists in the discovery which the author has made of the time and order of nearly all the events and transactions of this great missionary's life. The effect of this arrangement is to throw light upon some ques-

tions which before involved great difficulty, and altogether to strengthen the argument for the authenticity of the Acts and the Epistles of Paul, by proving what Paley denominates the *undesignedness* of the various coincidences discovered between the formal history by Luke, and the occasional correspondence of the apostle with his friends, both in their corporate and individual capacity.

As to the special importance of Mr. Tate's labors, it is incumbent to observe that they must be estimated in conjunction with the argument of Paley. He has succeeded in making out a more complete narrative than his learned and acute predecessor. The strength of the argument derived from the obvious undesignedness of coincidences depends upon the degree with which they exclude, not only the appearance, but the very possibility, of design. In proportion, therefore, as they are subtle, indirect, circuitous, or complicated, so are they valuable. The more remote and the more deeply imbedded in the tissue of the narrative, the more convincing are they as evidence of truth. 'Broad, obvious, and explicit agreements,' said Paley, 'prove little; because it may be suggested that the insertion of such is the ordinary expedient of every forgery.' The occurrence of such may be expected in genuine writings, but then they form no test by which genuineness may be ascertained. The chief stress of any argument of this nature results from the proof that such coincidence was undesigned, and either was not likely to be, or could not possibly be, matter of previous arrangement. The strength of the proof is always according to the evidence which excludes design.

As we find it difficult or next to impossible to make any citations from Mr. Tate's work which would enable our readers to judge of its value for themselves, it behoves us to be the more explicit in recommending its perusal to all persons who are either interested in the evidences of christianity, or in the general elucidation of the apostle Paul's life and writings. They will find this a book of invaluable reference when any difficulty arises as to the order of events, or any question as to obscure allusions and other matters connected with the Epistles and the Acts. Mr. Tate has contributed some valuable critical observations on particular expressions. Altogether we are delighted to receive such an important addition to the *Horæ Paulinæ*.

There is only one suggestion which we wish to offer to the learned author. In publishing Paley's work in connexion with his own he has compelled his readers to purchase both. As Paley is already in every theological library, he ought to have left those who wish to have his own work the option of purchasing it apart. At present they must pay for both Tate and Paley—or not read Tate. Why should they be constrained to

purchase Paley for the sake of Tate, when they already possess the original work upon which Mr. Tate's is founded? We trust the author will accept our hint, and in case of a second edition, which will no doubt soon be required, print his own work alone.

Art. III. *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home*. By MISS SEDGWICK. 2 vols. London: Moxon. 1841.

MISS SEDGWICK is well known to many of our readers as an American authoress of considerable celebrity, some of whose works have been reissued from the British press, and are obtaining an extensive circulation amongst our people. She visited the 'old world' in 1839, and the volumes now before us consist of letters written during her residence in Europe, to her friends at home. Miss Sedgwick's literary reputation, aided by the numerous letters of introduction which she is understood to have brought to this country, obtained her ready access to the best society in London, which she has described with a fidelity and liveliness that can hardly fail to win the confidence, while it ministers to the pleasure of her readers. Her personal demeanor is reported to have been inartificial and unpretending,—the outward expression of a mind which respected itself too highly to violate truth for the sake of effect, and was too keenly alive to whatever was beautiful or grand, to stoop to any of those exaggerations of phrase by which inferior writers endeavor to supply the absence of real feeling.

The letters are written in an admirable temper, with just such prepossessions as an intelligent American may be expected to entertain. There is no pretension about them, but they nevertheless furnish information which to American readers must be full of interest. 'I forewarn you,' she says to her correspondent in her first letter, 'not to look for any 'statistics from me—any 'valuable information.' I shall try 'to tell you truly what I see and hear; to 'chronicle,' as our 'friend Mr. Dewey says, 'while they are fresh, my sensations.' To this rule Miss Sedgwick strictly adheres, and there is in consequence a freshness and individuality about her volumes not frequently met with in the hackneyed ways of authorship. She landed at Portsmouth, July 4, 1839, and was strongly moved by the historical associations which occurred to her memory. 'When I touched English ground,' she says, 'I 'could have fallen on my knees and kissed it; but a wharf is

'not quite the *locale* for such a demonstration, and spectators operate like strait jackets upon enthusiasm, so I contented myself with a mental salutation of the home of our fathers, the native land of one of our dearest friends, and the birthplace of 'the bright, the immortal names' that we have venerated from our youth upward.' Miss Sedgwick was much struck with the aspect of what she beheld. 'Every thing,' she remarks, 'looks novel and foreign to us: the quaint forms of the old, sad-colored houses; the arched, antique gateways; the royal busts niched in an old wall; the very dark coloring of the foliage, and the mossy stems of the trees. We seemed to have passed from the fresh, bright youth to the old age of the world. The form and coloring of the people are different from ours. They are stouter, more erect, and more sanguine.'

Amongst her letters of introduction Miss Sedgwick was fortunate enough to have one to Captain Basil Hall, which was delivered with some hesitation on account of the prejudices which, in common with her countrymen, she entertained against the English officer. Captain Hall, however, completely redeemed himself in her estimation by the most polite and unremitting attentions, which are recorded with the frankness of an ingenuous mind. 'What a host of prejudices and false judgments,' Miss Sedgwick remarks, 'had one day's frank and kind intercourse dispersed to the winds—for ever!' We could wish that our countrymen were more disposed to meet the prejudices of foreigners, whether personal or national, in the same spirit of courteous gallantry.

We pass over the sketch which is given of our author's lionizing at Portsmouth, as also her trip to the Isle of Wight, with which she was thoroughly charmed, and her impressions of the miniature beauties of which she expresses herself wholly incompetent to convey to her correspondent. 'Call it Eden,' she exclaims; 'call it Paradise; and, after all, what conceptions have we of those terræ incognitæ. The Isle of Wight, they tell us, is a miniature of England. It has the exquisite delicacy and perfection of a miniature by a master hand.' Something was no doubt due to her sudden transition from ship-board to this lovely garden, the secluded and modest beauties of which are not destined, we fear, long to escape the profane hands of the rude intruder. Before repairing to London Miss Sedgwick visited Winchester Cathedral, and in her notice of this splendid memorial of by-gone days, opens up to us a class of emotions of which, from long familiarity with the monumental records of the past, we are almost wholly ignorant. America is utterly destitute of such historical associations—the connecting links between the past and the present,—the outward and visible proof of the truth of

those records with which the student of history is familiar. We are not, therefore, surprised at the powerful emotions which such edifices raise in a cultivated American. They speak to the eye, and there is a vividness and graphic force in their language, to which the most eloquent descriptions cannot attain. But our author shall speak for herself.

‘The chief object of the excursion to us was the Cathedral, which is the largest in England. A part of it is of the Saxon order, and dates from the seventh century. What think you of our New-World eyes seeing the sarcophagi containing the bones of the old Saxon kings—the Ethelreds and Ethelwolfs, and of Canute the Dane; the tombs of William Rufus, and of William of Wykeham; the chair in which bloody Mary sat at her nuptial ceremony; besides unnumbered monuments and chapels built by kings and bishops; to say nothing of some of the best art of our own time, sculpture by Flaxman and Chantrey? Their details were lost upon us in the effect of the great whole; the long-drawn aisles, the windows with their exquisite coloring, the lofty vault, the carved stones, the pillars and arches—those beautiful Gothic arches. We had some compensation for the unconsciousness of a lifetime, of the power of architecture, in our overwhelming emotions. They cannot be repeated. We cannot see a cathedral twice for the first time, that is very clear!

‘I was not prepared for the sensations to be excited by visiting these old places of the Old World. There is nothing in our land to aid the imperfect lights of history. Here it seems suddenly verified. Its long-buried dead, or, rather, its dim spectres, appear with all the freshness of actual life. A miracle is wrought on poetry and painting. While they represented what we had never seen, they were but shadows to us; a kind of magic mirrors, showing false images; now they seem a divine form, for the perpetual preservation of the beautiful creations of nature and art.

‘It happened that while we were in Winchester Cathedral service was performed there. I cannot tell how I might have been affected if it had been a more hearty service. There were the officials, the clergyman and clerk, a choir of boys, and, for the audience, half-a-dozen men, three or four women, octogenarians, or verging on the extreme of human life, and ourselves. I confess that the temple, and not He who sanctifies it, filled my mind. My eyes were wandering over the arches, the carvings, the Saxon *caskets*,’ &c., &c.—Vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

Arrived in London, Miss Sedgwick repaired, of course, to the Tower, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul’s, and other objects of curiosity. The hours spent in Westminster Abbey are represented as having ‘more sensations in them than months of ‘ordinary life.’ ‘It is worth crossing the Atlantic,’ she remarks, ‘to enter the little door by which we first went into the ‘Abbey, and have your eyes light on that familiar legend, ‘O ‘rare Ben Jonson.’ And then to walk around and see the ‘monuments of Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, and other inspired

'teachers. You have strange and mixed feelings. You approach 'nearer to them than ever before, but it is in sympathy with 'their mortality.' Miss Sedgwick was 'grievously disappointed' in St. Paul's, than which, she says, 'a more heavy, inexpressive 'mass can hardly be found cumbering the ground.' We demur to this judgment, but will not be tempted into an architectural digression. The most interesting portion of Miss Sedgwick's letters from London consists of sketches of some of our literary men, with whom she met in the quiet intercourse of social life. The following is her account of a breakfast party at the house of the author of the *Pleasures of Memory*.

'We had the pleasure of a breakfast at Rogers'. Your long familiarity with his poetry tells you the melancholy fact that he is no longer young; a fact kept out of your mind as far as possible on a personal acquaintance, by the freshness with which he enjoys, and the generosity with which he imparts. I have heard him called cynical, and perhaps a man of his keen wit may be sometimes over-tempted to demonstrate it, as the magnanimous Saladin was to use the weapon with which he adroitly severed a man's head from his body at a single stroke. If so, these are the exceptions to the general current of his life, which, I am sure, flows in a kindly current. K. told me he met him one winter in Paris, where he found him enjoying art like a young enthusiast; and knowing every boy's name in the street he lived in, and in friendship with them all. Does not this speak volumes?

'He honored our letters of introduction by coming immediately to see us, and receiving us as cordially as if we were old friends. He afterwards expressed a regret to me that he had not taken that morning, before we plunged into engagements, to show me Johnson's and Dryden's haunts, the house where our Franklin lived, and other classical localities. Ah! this goes to swell my pathetic reiteration of the general lament, 'I have had my losses!'

'His manners are those of a man of the world (in its best sense), simple, and natural, without any apparent consciousness of name or fame to support. His house, as all the civilized world knows, is a cabinet of art, selected and arranged with consummate taste. The house itself is small—not, I should think, more than twenty-five feet front, and perhaps forty deep, in a most fortunate location, overlooking the Green Park. The first sight of it from the windows produces a sort of coup de théâtre; for you approach the house and enter it by a narrow street. Every inch of it is appropriated to some rare treasure or choice production of art. Besides the pictures (and 'What,' you might be tempted to ask, 'can a man want beside *such* pictures?') are Etruscan vases (antiques), Egyptian antiquities, casts of the Elgin marbles decorating the staircase wall, and endless adornments of this nature. There are curiosities of another species,—rare books, such as a most beautifully-illuminated missal, exquisitely-delicate paintings designed for marginal decorations, executed three hundred years ago, and taken from the Vatican by the French—glorious robbers! In a catalogue of his books, in the poet's own beautiful

autograph, there were inserted some whimsical titles of books, such as 'Nebuchadnezzar on Grasses.'

'But the most interesting thing in all the collection was the original document, with Milton's name, by which he transferred to his publisher, for *ten pounds*, the copyright of *Paradise Lost*. Next in interest to this was a portfolio, in which were arranged autograph letters from Pope and Dryden, Washington and Franklin, and several from Fox, Sheridan, and Scott, addressed to the poet himself. Among them was that written by Sheridan, just before his death, describing the extremity of his suffering, and praying Rogers to come to him. But I must check myself. A catalogue raisonné of what our eyes but glanced over would fill folios. I had the pleasure at breakfast of sitting next Mr. Babbage, whose name is so well known among us as the author of the self-calculating machine. He has a most remarkable eye, that looks as if it might penetrate science, or any thing else he chose to look into. He described the iron steamer now building, which has a larger tonnage than any merchant ship in the world, and expressed an opinion that iron ships would supersede all others; and another opinion that much concerns us, and which, I trust, may soon be verified—that in a few years these iron steamers will go to America in seven days!

'Macaulay was of the party. His conversation resembles his writings; it is rich and delightful, filled with anecdotes and illustrations from the abounding stores of his overflowing mind. Some may think he talks too much; but none, except from their own impatient vanity, could wish it were less.

'It was either at Mr. Rogers', or at a breakfast a few days after at Mr. R.'s sister's (whose house, by the way, is a fair pendant for his), that we had much Monkbnarn's humor, from worthy disciples of that king of old bachelors, on the subject of matrimony. H. said there had been many a time in his life when he should have married, if he could some fine day have walked quietly into a village-church, and met at the altar a lady having come as quietly into another door, and then, after the marriage service, each have departed their separate way, with no observation, no speculation upon the engagement, no congratulations before or after. Rogers, who seems resolved to win the crown of celibat martyrdom (is there a crown for it?), pronounced matrimony a folly at any period of life, and quoted a saying of some wicked Benedict, that, 'no matter whom you married, you would find afterward you had married another person.'

'No doubt; but, except with the idealizing lover, I believe the expectation is as often surpassed as disappointed. There is a generous opinion, for a single woman, of your married fortunes!'

—Ib. pp. 70—74.

Miss Sedgwick was specially gratified by her interview with Joanna Baillie, whose dramatic productions are probably less known amongst the readers of the *Eclectic* than their merits deserve. The allusion to Lady Byron at the close of the follow-

ing extract does nothing more than simple justice to that amiable and accomplished lady.

'I believe, of all my pleasures here, dear J. will most envy me that of seeing Joanna Baillie, and of seeing her repeatedly at her own home; the best point of view for all best women. She lives on Hampstead Hill, a few miles from town, in a modest house, with Miss Agnes Baillie, her only sister, a most kindly and agreeable person. Miss Baillie—I write this for J., for we women always like to know how one another look and dress—Miss Baillie has a well-preserved appearance; her face has nothing of the vexed or sorrowing expression that is often so deeply stamped by a long experience of life. It indicates a strong mind, great sensibility, and the benevolence that, I believe, always proceeds from it if the mental constitution be a sound one, as it eminently is in Miss Baillie's case. She has a pleasing figure—what we call lady-like—that is, delicate, erect, and graceful; not the large-boned, muscular frame of most English women. She wears her own grey hair; a general fashion by-the-way here, which I wish we elderly ladies of America may have the courage and the taste to imitate; and she wears the prettiest of brown silk gowns and bonnets fitting the beau ideal of an old lady; an ideal she might inspire if it has no pre-existence. You would, of course, expect her to be, as she is, free from pedantry and all modes of affectation; but I think you would be surprised to find yourself forgetting, in a domestic and confiding feeling, that you were talking with the woman whose name is best established among the female writers of her country; in short, forgetting every thing but that you were in the society of a most charming private gentlewoman. She might (would that all female writers could!) take for her device a flower that closes itself against the noontide sun, and unfolds in the evening shadows.

'We lunched with Miss Baillie. Mr. Tytler, the historian, and his sister were present. Lord Woodhouselee, the intimate friend of Scott, was their father. Joanna Baillie appears to us, from Scott's letters to her, to have been his favorite friend; and the conversation among so many personally familiar with him naturally turned upon him, and many a pleasant anecdote was told, many a thrilling word quoted.

'It was pleasant to hear these friends of Scott and Mackenzie talk of them as familiarly as we speak of W., B., and other household friends. They all agree in describing Mackenzie as a jovial, hearty sort of person, without any indication in his manners and conversation of the exquisite sentiment he infused into his writings. One of the party remembered his coming home one day in great glee from a cock-fight, and his wife saying to him, 'Oh, Harry, Harry, you put all your feelings on paper!'

'I was glad to hear Miss Baillie, who is an intimate friend of Lady Byron, speak of her with tender reverence, and of her conjugal infelicity as not at all the result of any quality or deficiency on her part, but inevitable. Strange this is not the universal impression, after Byron's own declaration to Moore that 'there never was a better or

even a brighter, a kinder, or a more amiable and agreeable being than Lady B.'—*Ib.* pp. 74—77.

Carlyle, Hallam, and Sidney Smith are briefly sketched in a manner which may not be uninteresting to such of our readers as are acquainted with their writings, but have never had an opportunity of personal intercourse with these distinguished men. The sketches are slight, and want filling up, nevertheless we transcribe them for the information of our young friends, who are naturally interested in all that pertains to the appearance and manner of such men.

'I may say that we have scaled the ladder of evening entertainments here, going from a six o'clock family tea up to a magnificent concert at L—— house; and the tea at this home-like hour was at Carlyle's. He is living in the suburbs of London, near the Thames; my impression is, in rather an humble way; but when your eye is filled with a grand and beautiful temple, you do not take the dimensions of surrounding objects; and if any man can be independent of them, you might expect Carlyle to be. His head would throw a phrenologist into ecstasies. It looks like the 'forge of thought' it is; and his eyes have a preternatural brilliancy. He reminded me of what Lockhart said to me, speaking of the size of Webster's head, that he 'had brains enough to fill half-a-dozen hats.' Carlyle has as strong a Scotch accent as Mr. Combe. His manner is simple, natural, and kindly. His conversation has the picturesqueness of his writings, and flows as naturally, and as free from Germanism, as his own mountain streams are from any infusion of German soil. He gave us an interesting account of his first acquaintance with E——n. He was living with his wife in a most secluded part of Scotland. They had no neighbors, no communication with the world, excepting once a week or fortnight, when he went some miles to a post-office in the hope of a letter or some other intimation that the world was going on. One day a stranger came to them—a young American—and 'he seemed to them an angel.' They spoke of him as if they had never lost their first impression of his celestial nature. Carlyle had met Mr. Webster, and expressed a humorous surprise that a man from over the sea should talk English, and be as familiar as the natives with the English constitution and laws,

'With all that priest or jurist saith,
Of modes of law, or modes of faith.'

'He said Webster's eyes were like dull furnaces, that only wanted blowing on to lighten them up. And, by the way, it is quite interesting to perceive that our great countryman has made a sensation here, where it is all but as difficult to make one as to make a mark on the ocean. They have given him the soubriquet of the 'Great Western,' and they seem particularly struck with his appearance. A gentleman said to me, 'His eyes open, and open, and open, and you think they will never stop opening;' and a painter was heard to exclaim, on see-

ing him, 'What a head! what eyes! what a mouth! and, my God! what coloring!'

'We had a very amusing evening at Mr. Hallam's, whom (thanks to F., as thanks to her for all my best privileges in London) I have had the great pleasure of seeing two or three times. But this kind of seeing is so brief and imperfect, that it amounts to little more than seeing the pictures of these great people. Mr. Hallam has a very pleasing countenance, and a most good-humored and playful manner. I quite forgot he was the sage of the 'Middle Ages.' He reminded me of —; but his simplicity is more genuine; not at all that of the great man trying to play child. You quite forget, in the freedom and ease of the social man, that he is ever the hero in armour. We met Sidney Smith at his house, the best known of all the wits of the civilized world. The company was small; he was i' the vein, which is like a singer being in voice, and we saw him, I believe, to advantage. His wit was not, as I expected, a succession of brilliant explosions, but a sparkling stream of humor, very like — when he is at home, and i' the vein too; and, like him also, he seemed to enjoy his own fun, and to have fattened on it.

'He expressed unqualified approbation of Dickens, and said that 10,000 of each number of *Nicholas Nickleby* were sold. There was a young man present, who, being flushed with some recent literary success, ventured to throw himself into the arena against this old lion-king, and, to a lover of such sport, it would have been pleasant to see how he crackled him up, flesh, bones, and all.'—*Ib.* pp. 85—88.

We close our extracts from this part of Miss Sedgwick's volume with the following group.

'I have met many persons here whom to meet was like seeing the originals of familiar pictures. Jane Porter, Mrs. Opie, Mrs. Austin, Lockhart, Milman, Morier, Sir Francis Chantrey, &c. I owed Mrs. Opie a grudge for having made me, in my youth, cry my eyes out over her stories; but her fair, cheerful face forced me to forget it. She long ago forswore the world and its vanities, and adopted the Quaker faith and costume: but I fancied that her elaborate simplicity, and the fashionable little train to her pretty satin gown, indicated how much easier it is to adopt a theory than to change one's habits. Mrs. Austin stands high here for personal character, as well as for the very inferior but undisputed property of literary accomplishments. Her translations are so excellent that they class her with good original writers. If her manners were not strikingly conventional, she would constantly remind me of —; she has the same Madame Roland order of architecture and outline, but she wants her charm of naturalness and attractive sweetness; so it may not seem to Mrs. A.'s sisters and fond friends. A company attitude is rarely any body's best.

'There is a most pleasing frankness and social charm in Sir Francis Chantrey's manner. I called him repeatedly *Mr.* Chantrey, and begged him to pardon me on the ground of not being 'native to the manner.' He laughed good-naturedly, and said something of having

been longer accustomed to the plebeian designation. I heard from Mr. R. a much stronger illustration than this of this celebrated artist's good sense and good feeling too. Chantrey was breakfasting with Mr. R., when, pointing to some carving in wood, he asked R. if he remembered that, some twenty years before, he employed a young man to do that work for him. R. had but an indistinct recollection. 'I was that young man,' resumed Chantrey, and 'very glad to get the five shillings a day you paid me!' Mr. B. told a pendant to this pretty story. Mr. B. was discussing with Sir Francis the propriety of gilding something, I forget what. B. was sure it could be done, Chantrey as sure it could not; and 'I should know,' he said, 'for I was once apprentice to a carver and gilder.' Perhaps, after all, it is not so crowning a grace in Sir Francis Chantrey to refer to the obscure morning of his brilliant day, as it is a disgrace to the paltry world that it should be so considered.

'I have seen Owen of Lanark—a curiosity rather from the sensation he at one time produced in our country, than from any thing very extraordinary in the man. He is pushing his theories with unabated zeal. He wasted an hour in trying to convince me that he could make the world over and 'set all to rights,' if he were permitted to substitute two or three truths for two or three prevailing errors; and on the same morning a philanthropical phrenologist endeavored to show me how, if his theory were established, the world would soon become healthy, wealthy, and wise. Both believe the good work is going on—happy men! So it has always been; there must be some philosopher's stone, some short-hand process, rather than the slow way of education and religious discipline which, to us, Providence seems to have ordained.'—*Ib.* pp. 92—94.

In our author's account of the manners of English society there is much shrewd observation and accurate pencilling. She writes in a spirit perfectly friendly, does full justice to whatever excellencies she noted, yet detects some blemishes to which our self-esteem renders us insensible. One of the chief advantages attending the perusal of such a work as the present is, the impartial view which is given of ourselves,—the un-English aspect under which we are assisted to look at our own habits and manners, the general condition of our society, and the points of attraction and repulsion which our character presents to foreigners. It is doubtless somewhat mortifying to our national vanity to learn that we are not quite perfect; yet it becomes us to be grateful to the instructress, who, by wise counsels conceived in much kindness, puts the means of self-improvement within our reach.

'I have seen nothing here,' remarks Miss Sedgwick, 'to change my opinion that there is something in the Anglo-Saxon race essentially adverse to the spirit and grace of society. I have seen more invention, spirit, and ease in one soirée in a German family at New York, than I have ever seen here, or should see in a season in purely American

society. An Englishman has an uncomfortable consciousness of the presence and observation of others ; an immense love of approbation, with either a shyness or a defiance of opinion.

‘Thoroughly well bred people are essentially the same every where. You will find much more conventional breeding here than with us, and, of course, the general level of manners is higher and the surface more uniform.

‘Society is smoothed to that excess,
That manners differ hardly more than dress.’

They are more quiet, and I should say there was less individuality ; but from a corresponding remark having been made by English travellers among us, I take it the impression results from the very slight revelations of character that are made on a transient acquaintance. There is much more variety and richness in conversation here, resulting naturally from more leisure and higher cultivation. But after all, there seems to me to be a great defect in conversation. The feast of wit and reason it may be, but it is not the flow and mingling of soul. The Frenchman, instructed by his *amour propre*, said truly, ‘*Tout le monde aime planter son mot.*’ Conversation seems here to be a great arena, where each speaker is a gladiator who must take his turn, put forth his strength, and give place to his successor. Each one is on the watch to seize his opportunity, show his power, and disappear before his vanity is wounded by an indication that he is in the way. Thus conversation becomes a succession of illuminations and triumphs—or failures. There is no such ‘*horreur*’ as a bore ; no such bore as a proser. A bore might be defined to be a person that must be listened to. I remember R. saying that ‘kings are always bores, and so are royal dukes, for they must not be interrupted as long as they please to talk.’ The crowning grace of conversation, the listening with pleased eagerness, I have rarely seen. When Dr. C. was told that Coleridge pronounced him the most agreeable American he had ever seen, he replied, ‘Then it was because he found me a good listener, for I said absolutely nothing !’ And yet, as far as we may judge from Coleridge’s Table-Talk, he would have been the gainer by a fairer battle than that where

‘One side only gives and t’other takes the blows.’
—Ib. 100—102.

The following refers to a feature of our society, which is too anomalous permanently to consist with the advancement of the public mind in intelligence and liberalism.

‘The system of ranks here, as absolute as the Oriental *caste*, is the feature in English society most striking to an American. For the progress of the human race it was worth coming to the New World to get rid of it. Yes, it was worth all that our portion of the human family sacrificed, encountered, and suffered. This system of castes is the more galling, clogging, and unhealthy, from its perfect unfitness to the present state of freedom and progress in England.

‘ Travellers laugh at our pretensions to equality, and Sir Walter Scott has said, as truly as wittily, that there is no perfect equality except among the Hottentots. But our inequalities are as changing as the surface of the ocean, and this makes all the difference. Each rank is set about here with a thorny, impervious, and almost impassable hedge. We have our walls of separation, certainly ; but they are as easily knocked down or surmounted as our rail-fences.

‘ With us, talents, and education, and refined manners command respect and observance ; and so, I am sorry to say, does fortune : but fortune has more than its proverbial mutability in the United States. The rich man of to-day is the poor man of to-morrow, and so vice versa. This unstableness has its evils, undoubtedly, and so has every modification of human condition ; but better the evil that is accidental than that which is authorized, cherished, and inevitable. That system is most generous, most christian, which allows a fair start to all ; some must reach the goal before others, as, for the most part, the race is ordained to the swift, and the battle to the strong.

‘ But you would rather have my observations than my speculations ; and as, in my brief survey, I have only seen the outside, it is all I can give you, my dear C. I have no details of the vices of any class. I have heard shocking anecdotes of the corruption prevailing among the high people ; and men and women have been pointed out to me in public places who have been guilty of notorious conjugal infidelities, and the grossest violations of parental duty, without losing caste ; and this I have heard imputed to their belonging to a body that is above public opinion. I do not see how this can be, nor why the opinion of their own body does not bear upon them. Surely there should be virtue enough in such people as the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Duchess of Sutherland, to banish from their world the violators of those laws of God and man, on which rest the foundations of social virtue and happiness.’—*Ib.* pp. 107—109.

From England our author proceeded to the continent, and as her route lay along the highways of Europe, we shall not detain our readers by transferring to our pages her descriptions of the scenery she witnessed, and the habits and condition of the people amongst whom she journeyed. Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy have been so frequently described by modern tourists, that we may pass over this part of Miss Sedgwick's volumes with slight notice. The following will be interesting to all who are acquainted with the writings of one of the most eminent philosophic historians of Europe.

‘ Towards evening, K. and I drove out to M. Sismondi's. He resides at Chesne. We drove away from the lake on a level road, past pleasant villas, and in face of Mont Blanc ; thickly veiled his face was though, and, as we are told, he does not show it, on an average, more than sixty times a-year. After a pleasant drive of a mile and a half, we reached M. Sismondi's house, a low, cottage-like building, with a pretty hedge before it, and ground enough about it to give it an air of

seclusion and refinement. On the opposite side of the road, and withdrawn from it, is a Gothic church, shaded by fine old trees; and before it is the Salève, and Mont Blanc for a back-ground. I envied those who could sit down on the stone benches in the broad vestibule of the church, with these glorious high altars before them. It pleased me to find Sismondi's home in a position so harmonizing with the elevation and tranquillity of his philosophic mind. As we drove up the serpentine approach to his door, I felt a little trepidation, lest I might not find a friend in my long and intimate correspondent—a natural dread of the presence of a celebrated man; but I had no sooner seen his benignant face, and heard the earnest tones of his kind welcome, than I felt how foolish, how pitiful was such a dread; and that I might as well have feared going into the sunshine, or into the presence of any other agent, however powerful, that is the source of general health and happiness. To our surprise, we found we were expected. Confalonieri is in Geneva, and, expecting to intercept us, has delayed for some days his return to Paris.

'After an hour we came away perfectly satisfied. Not a look, a word, or tone of voice had reminded us that we were meeting for the first time. We seemed naturally, and with the glow of personal intercourse, to be carrying on the thread of an acquaintance that we had been all our lives weaving. I can say nothing truer, nor to you more expressive, than that the atmosphere of home seemed to enfold us. You would like to know how M. Sismondi looks. I can tell you that he is short, stout, and rather thick; that he has a dark complexion, plenty of black hair, and brilliant hazel eyes; and then you will have just about as adequate a notion of his soul-lit face as you would have of the beauty of Monument Mountain, the Housatonic, and our meadows, if you had never seen the sun shine upon them or the shadows playing over them. I sometimes think it matters not what the original structure is, when the character is written on it, and the golden light of the soul shines over it. It is a very common opinion, but is it not an erroneous one? that you cannot form a correct opinion of an author from his works. Nine-tenths (ninety-nine hundredths?) of authors, so called, are mere collectors—*rifacitori*—ingenious makers of patch-work. An original writer writes with earnestness and sincerity. As Titian is said to have ground up flesh to produce his true coloring, so their works are a portion of their spirits; the book is, in fact, the man.

'Sismondi rarely dines out, and 'has not,' Madame S. says, 'in his life drunk a half-glass of wine beyond what was good for him;' and surely he has his reward in a clear head and unshaken hand. He is sixty-seven. Madame S. expressed her regret that he was so near the allotted term of life, while 'he had yet so much to do.' 'I wish,' she added, playfully, 'that I were nineteen, and my husband twenty-one.' Sismondi replied, that he should not care to live his life over again; 'it had been so happy, he should not dare to trust the chances.' We in our rash love would have exclaimed, 'O king, live for ever!' forgetting that he will for live ever without 'the chances.'

'K. and I walked out this morning to breakfast with the Sismondis.

It was scarcely nine when we sat down to the table. He breakfasted on curd and cream, and on these delicate articles Madame S. says he expends all his *gourmandise*. Nine is not late now (October 6), and he had already written three letters and several graceful stanzas for some lady's album. It is by these well-ordered habits of diligence that he accomplishes such an immensity of work. And with all this labor his mind is as free, as much at ease, as if he had nothing in the world to do but make his social home the cheerful place it is. He spoke in terms of high commendation of Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, but he thought Mr. P. had painted his heroine-queen *en beau*, and he went on to express his detestation of her bigotry, and his horror of its tremendous effects. We women contended for her conjugal and maternal character. 'And what,' he asked, 'had she done for her children but educate a mad woman?' Madame S. reminded him of Catherine of Aragon. 'But she,' he said, 'was not Isabella's daughter.' We all smiled, and I said that I was glad to find him at fault in a point of history. 'Ah!' he replied, 'history for me is divided into two parts: that which I have written and forgotten, and that which I have not written and have not yet learned.'.....

'I asked if the working classes here were making progress. He said 'No; on the contrary, there was less development of mind than fifty years ago, for then there existed a law, now annulled, forbidding a master-workman to employ more than two journeymen. Now the tendency of things is make great capitalists, and to reduce the mass of men to mere 'mechanicals.' As to progress with the peasantry, that was quite out of the question.' What a strange and death-like condition this seems to us! When I think of the new, the singularly happy condition of our people among the working classes of the world, I am vexed at their solemn, anxious faces. If they have all outward prosperity, they have not that cheerfulness of the countenance which the wise man says betokeneth the prosperity of the heart. There is something wrong in this—some contravention of Providence.'

—Ib. pp. 249—255.

We take leave of Miss Sedgwick with the most hearty goodwill, and with a sincere desire that all our tourists, whether American or English, may imitate the spirit in which she has related to her 'kindred at home' what she saw and heard in the Old World. It is surely time that the mean spirit of detraction in which many have written should be abandoned. Neither the Americans nor ourselves can gain any thing by the reputation of the other being diminished; while each may be benefited by a fair and candid exhibition of the character and habits of its contemporary. To misrepresent the institutions or to caricature the manners of a great people, for the purpose of misleading the judgment of our own countrymen, is one of the most serious offences which can be committed, and should be marked by the reprobation of every well-constituted mind.

Art. IV. *The Biblical Cabinet : or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.* Vols. I.—XXXI. Edinburgh : Thomas Clark.

BEFORE the appearance of the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet, we had long felt the desirableness of such a series. When, therefore, it actually started into existence, it was hailed as the auspicious harbinger of a brighter day in the progression of biblical literature. Here was the commencement of an exegetical library for the intelligent divine, which would constantly excite a taste for profounder study, and foster the nascent predilection for critical inquiry in our native land. Great gratitude is due to the publisher for undertaking a work not likely soon to be extensively popular—a work of sterling and staple material, fitted to command the confidence, and to challenge the assent, of every right-hearted student of the Bible. We fear, however, that he has not been well sustained in his disinterested efforts to diffuse a better taste; but that oft desponding, he laments the failure of a generous experiment, on whose success he had calculated with overweening confidence. Britain had done comparatively little for the advancement of philological studies, and it was perhaps too much to expect that she should be speedily awakened to a right appreciation of their severe exercises. Her taste had been scarcely formed for them. Her spirit had no yearning towards them. In hermeneutical science, too, she had been slumbering, whilst other nations were running the career of an honorable and hallowed zeal for the better understanding of the word of God. Was it probable, then, that the scientific apparatus of a people habituated to such inquiries should be welcomed by her as a valuable gift, or received with cordial affection? Thus the mental habits of the British nation augured little success. But it were idle to conceal or to palliate the fact, that the management of the Biblical Cabinet has been marked by several defects. Let us plainly and candidly allege, that it has not sustained a character brightening and improving by time. It can hardly have escaped the notice of the most unreflecting, that little progressive improvement has marked the entire series. And yet this was a matter of easy accomplishment. It was what the readers had a right to look for; and when disappointed an equal right to complain of. What, then, is the reason that obliges them to give expression to feelings of dissatisfaction with its management? What induces them to pronounce over it a decision less friendly and favorable than

they could wish ? The following we believe to be the chief particulars in which it is defective.

First. The volumes composing it are very unequal in merit. To plead, indeed, for a perfect equality in excellence, were Utopian. There must be inequalities in works written by different authors, and upon different topics. The same degree of merit does not attach even to the individual writings of the same author. But, whilst several volumes belonging to the Cabinet are well selected, and amply deserving of their place in it, there are others which ought not to have been introduced. Thus *Ernesti* on the New Testament, *Pareau* on the Old, *Planck's* Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation, *Tholuck's* Commentaries, are all entitled to their position; whilst *Umbreit*, *Witsius*, *Tholuck's Sermons*, and other treatises that might be named, are not of such permanent value as to recommend their transference from the German or Latin language into our own, much less to assign them the place occupied in the Cabinet. Surely *Tholuck's* Life and Sermons do not comport with the list of treatises intended to be embraced; whilst *Witsius's* Lectures on the Lord's Prayer are inferior in critical analysis, as might have been anticipated from the time at which they first appeared. We readily concede that the theology of the latter is sound and systematic; tinctured with scholasticism withal, which the pious divine found to be fashionable, and relished accordingly. *Umbreit*, again, though profoundly learned, is too erratic and speculative to undertake an able exposition of Job; for he sets about his task somewhat in the style of one who developes an oriental fable. Nor has the translator appended notes explanatory or corrective, but simply confined himself to the drudgery of rendering into English the words and phrases of the original.

Secondly. The best commentaries have not been uniformly chosen. Thus *Calvin* is not the best on Galatians, *Steiger* on the first Epistle of Peter, or *Billroth* on Corinthians. The German and Latin languages supplied better than these; and they should therefore have given place to more valuable authors. It is true that none of them is without merit. Due praise is willingly awarded to each. *Calvin* had an acute and powerful intellect; but his philology was not of the highest order. *Steiger* was a young man of great promise, and nobly did he set himself to refute the antisupranaturalism of *Wegscheider*; but his mind was hardly matured for the task of commentary. *Billroth*, too, was learned; but ought not to be called an able theologian. Still there is a difficulty in procuring German commentaries whose theology exactly squares with what the standards of the Church of Scotland, or the articles of the Church of England, pronounce sound and pure doctrine. And yet many

may be evangelical notwithstanding. They may set forth the essentials of the christian religion, such as the deity of Christ, his atonement and intercession, with man's recovery and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, without exhibiting those minute opinions on which christian churches differ. Let it not be conceived that adherence to any creed, however lengthened, should be sufficient to stamp the seal of orthodoxy on the brow of a commentator. Although, therefore, there may not be expositions in German to suit in all points the creed-formed taste of established churches; there may be evangelical commentaries proceeding from able and pious men, that ought to be translated into English. If they be not produced in the spirit of a vain *antisupranaturalism*, explaining away miracles, and resolving prophecy into shrewd conjecture—or if they be free from the invention of *mythi*, we should leave a few objectionable matters to the good sense of the christian student, without casting aside an entire volume, however excellent as a whole. Or, if any object to this as insufficient, let him separate the chaff from the wheat in pointing out its worthlessness—let it be faithfully exposed as unprofitable and pernicious; but cast not away both together; for in so doing you will lose much that is worth possessing, and recklessly abandon, it may be, the pure grain of the sanctuary. Let the aberrations of learning be held up as warnings to deter from the folly of philosophizing upon the Bible, or from the pride of pronouncing sentence in matters too high for human intellect to scan—too sacred for human presumption to invade. These are some of the uses to which the unsound portions of many German books, otherwise valuable, might be applied; without necessarily depriving the intelligent student of their multifarious contents. No poison would thus insinuate itself into the mind—it would lose its venom and its hurtfulness—while the literary giants of the continent would dwindle down before our view as frail and fallible men, equally in want of the teaching of the Spirit with ourselves, and all the more necessitous, in proportion to the extent of their attainments, and the depth of their lore. Humility generated by a calm view of their lapses, would bid away the rising thoughts of self-importance so inimical to the better feelings of christian abasement. It tends much to level the fancied greatness of human accomplishments to contemplate the hallucinations of those who toil incessantly to ascend the heights of a proud pre-eminence in literature, and toil not in vain; for, whilst they may be always learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth so far as it is *practically received and felt*; the meanest peasant, on whose soul science has never shone, may clearly and cogently perceive its primary claims not less to a celestial origin, than to an instant submission.

With these sentiments, we should not fear to clothe with an English dress some of the best works of neological writers; not, indeed, such as were written expressly to defend a most erroneous system, but rather to illustrate the books of Scripture, and therefore less objectionable, than if it had been the avowed object to uphold a favorite but fallacious mode of interpretation. Nay, so far from entertaining fears, we should rather hope that compositions of this kind might be *profitably* corrected or *beneficially* refuted. Every attack on the inspiration of the sacred writers has hitherto redounded to the *reality of the fact*, by calling forth the counter-arguments of the more potent friends of truth. And, although we have no sympathy with that chivalrous spirit which carelessly flings down its arms before the daring demeanor of presumptuous reason, contented to yield where it is the more necessary to stand up for the gospel's sake; yet we have as little leaning to the sickly timidity that lives in alarms of its own creation.

Thirdly. Volumes have been occasionally introduced into the Cabinet which do not harmonize with its acknowledged character. Thus *Gess on the Revelation of God in his Word*, is too popular and brief to satisfy the wants of the scholar. One of *Krummacher's* works has been numbered as a volume belonging to the series, which all will admit to have been sadly misplaced; for this pious and imaginative theologian belongs to another class of authors than that embraced in the Cabinet; and however much we admire his elegant fancy and breathing piety, we cannot praise the correctness or sobriety of his expositions. *Lisco on the Parables*, though generally judicious, is not such a treatise as could have been desired. It wants fundamental investigation, as far as the nature of the subject will allow. We question, too, whether it be a wise proceeding to make up volumes of miscellaneous articles, chiefly reprinted from the American Biblical Repository and the Repertory. The former is possessed and read by the majority of persons interested in the progress of the present 'Library.' But there are some American productions which might well be transplanted; especially *Exegetical Essays by Professor Stuart on Future Punishment*; a volume that presents a valuable specimen of hermeneutical investigation on a theme intensely momentous. There, the reader may find a thorough antidote to the philosophical speculations of the Unitarian and Universalist, who set aside the statements of Scripture without ceremony, as being opposed to the amiable reveries of the human heart. *Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* might be added, in the English translation by Professor Marsh, although it is now imperfect, desiderating notes and references to adapt it to the present state of our knowledge.

Fourthly. Some of the volumes are not well rendered into our language. We do not say that the laborious translators have *often* mistaken the sense of the originals. We bring against them no sweeping charge of gross unacquaintedness with the German language. Some of them, however, are manifestly deficient in acquaintance with its minutiae or nicer idioms; and might have produced versions less uncouth, and a style less Germanized. Inelegance characterizes the labors of a few, who seem incapable of transfusing the force and beauty of the German into our own tongue. It requires long and diligent study before the ability to accomplish a good version be produced. Let the inexperienced translators take a lesson from *Marsh's Michaelis*, frequently comparing the original with its English costume; and they will learn the excellencies and mysteries of a finished version.

In these brief remarks upon the defects of the Biblical Cabinet, we have been anxious to state our opinion as candidly and faithfully as possible. We have a great desire to see the work as excellent and perfect as it ought to be. Be it far from us to complain without cause, or to censure without reason. When the interests of sound learning, the reputation of our theological literature, and the soundness of our national judgment is at stake, we are anxious that our defects should be as few as possible in the eyes of the most competent judges in other lands. We wish to see no stain upon our sacred literature, but to look upon it ascending with onward progress to a high and noble elevation. Rather should we have spoken in terms of unmeasured commendation, had a conscientious regard for truth admitted; since it is painful to dwell upon the faults, and to spy out the minor errors, which some are solicitous to find and feed upon. Had we been less anxious for the continuance and prosperity of the valuable series, we should have said less respecting its defects. It is just because we are impressed with the conviction of its importance to the cause of biblical learning, that we have ventured to give utterance to our sentiments, in order that the whole may hereafter challenge the unhesitating approbation of the ablest scholars. Alive as we are to the necessities of an age like the present, when the pulpit gives forth so little exposition, and the religious press re-echoes the trite sayings of hereditary pietism—when doctrinal truths are so unsubstantially inculcated from the high platform occupied by the preacher as to leave the mass of the people unfed with the strong meat of the gospel, and lean in their forms of spiritual manhood—we seek their removal by the application of successful remedies. Such features cannot be contemplated but with unquiet spirit, as they pass before

the view in shadowy mood, indicative of feebleness and frailty.

There are several suggestions which we would now propose. Should they be adopted we are quite confident of the success of the work.

First. The general superintendence of the whole ought forthwith to be entrusted to some competent scholar. It is matter of regret that this was not done at first; else so great inequality would not have been exhibited. By committing the entire selection to an individual, it will be pervaded by greater unity and excellence—treatises of doubtful propriety will be excluded, and works of primary interest alone presented to the public. We take it for granted that the management would be invested in safe hands. No second-rate individual should be selected; but one universally known to possess learning, judgment, and piety, combined with a philosophical spirit and liberal heart. Except these qualifications be found in the same person, he will be so far deficient in ability for the active superintendence. Neither should any *antipunctist* be entrusted with it, in the land of waning Hebrew literature where it is published; for the obvious reason, that he cannot be a good Hebraist. Nothing will tend to raise the character of the series more, than the adoption of such a suggestion. Conversant with German biblical literature as well as English, the editor will feel his reputation at stake, and exercise a sound discretion in choosing such able volumes as are often consulted by the masters of criticism.

Secondly. There ought to be more commentaries on the Old Testament, since it is less understood than the New. In itself, too, it is certainly more difficult; requiring a patience of study and an oriental apparatus which few possess. The number of those who thoroughly comprehend the Hebrew Scriptures is small; and the learned interpreter should devote himself more to this department, in the hope of enlightening the obscurities by which it is extensively enveloped, or of disclosing the beauties that lie far distant from the eye of the carnal and indolent. Why should we not have parts of *Rosenmüller's Scholia*, such as those on the Book of Psalms, translated; as also *Tiele* on Genesis, a sensible and judicious commentary, though pervaded by far less learning than that of *Tuch* the neologian, which followed it?

Thirdly. Treatises on particular subjects, such as contain able and independent investigations of topics important in themselves, ought to be frequently selected. Fundamental discussions of an exhaustive kind should by all means be brought forward. These constitute the nutriment which satisfies the mind, convinces the understanding, and affords the richest repast to the intellectual powers. They leave little room for un-

easiness or craving after second courses ; but commend themselves to the approbation of the finished scholar. As an example, may be mentioned *Hemsen's Leben Pauli*, published by Lücke, in which is given a more satisfactory account of the life and labors of the great apostle than in any other volume that can be put by its side. Of the same character is *Hengstenberg's Christologie*, translated by Keith, in which the Messianic passages of the Old Testament are expounded with great learning, and defended against all objections with successful effort. It is only to be regretted that the style is heavy, and the arguments unattractive from the mode in which they are stated.

Fourthly. We would not object, as already intimated, to several works by neologians, provided they were edited by a good scholar in our own country, and accompanied with masterly notes by way of correction, refutation, or addition. Even *Gesenius on Isaiah*, a book which no scholar can dispense with, might be rendered into English. With all its sad perversions and infidel views, it contains such valuable matter, that it might be introduced to the notice of British theologians. Let its neology be fairly seen and fully met—let the flimsy infidelity of a system which those who talk about so much, know so imperfectly, be plainly presented in all its naked deformity ; and we shall learn to be less afraid of its fancied power and insinuating mischief. The *Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache und Schrift* of the same scholar, deserves to be translated, as standing at the head of similar treatises in Germany, provided sound learning and superior skill were brought to bear upon its errors. The same remarks are applicable to *De Wette's Einleitung*, of which the student cannot be ignorant without inconvenience, notwithstanding the objectionable views it contains. We are aware that the cry of heresy would soon be raised by the appearance of such works in the Biblical Cabinet, in spite of the necessary accompaniments with which it behoves them to be sent forth. The hunters of heterodoxy, who arrogate to themselves the privilege of denouncing every thing which does not square with their narrow creed, would fall upon them with merciless rancor, as though the theological world were about to be inundated with a flood of infidelity sweeping away the ancient and venerable landmarks that our fathers of hallowed memory set up. And yet we should be contented to allow them to rave ; knowing that an enlightened and enlarged theology will triumph over every obstacle ; and that raising the war-cry against something called *rationalism*, without at the same time opening up its character, only awakens the curiosity of numbers, or tempts them to regard as formidable, the foolish utterances of depraved humanity. We have no fear for the truth of God, by whatever weapon it be assailed : neither do we belong to the

timid adherents of creeds, who judge of every thing by its conformity with a human system, rather than its agreement with the holy Scriptures; and limit their reading to that which exactly harmonizes with their own belief. If error be abroad that threatens to undermine the fabric of revealed truth, and to destroy its holy battlements, let it be openly confronted: but let not men cry out against it as vile and pernicious, without knowing its nature, or permitting others to understand its peculiarities. And here we would suggest the propriety of including in the series, descriptions of the various grades and names which theological systems have received in Germany. We hear of *naturalism*, *rationalism*, *supranaturalism*, &c., without affixing distinct ideas to the terms. It is by no means easy to ascertain their peculiarities and distinctions, varying as they do, at different periods, and in the terminologies of different authors. Even Rose and Pusey do not furnish clear statements of the systems thus technically denominated. We must have recourse to the Tittmanns, the Bretschneiders, the Hahns, the Wegscheiders, and others, for a description of the features by which they are marked. It is well to attach right notions to such words, since they are so common in Germany as to occur at every step, and so usual, moreover, in some of our own theological productions. We know the vague and indefinite ideas which many entertain concerning them. Hence the student of sacred literature ought to be acquainted with their distinctive peculiarities. Some treatise accordingly, such as *Hahn's Commentatio de Rationalismo, qui dicitur, verâ indole*, &c., should be translated into English, with additions from other writers, for the purpose of throwing light upon a topic of painful interest.

Fifthly. The publisher should endeavor, if possible, to intersperse among the volumes of the Cabinet suitable treatises from English writers. Few, indeed, are capable of composing such works among us; but there are still some. Comparatively low as is the state of biblical literature, there are yet those whose writings prove them competent to traverse the same departments as Vater, Gesenius, Hupfeld, Ewald, De Wette, and others of the like commanding elevation. Could any of them be induced to compose able works in unison with the plan and objects of the Cabinet, a pleasing variety would be exhibited, and the British mind contrasted with the speculative genius of the German.

It is high time to raise the tone of this 'library,' which, so far from disparaging, we mean on the whole to commend. The period has arrived for a 'new series,' improved in character, if not in appearance also. As it has proceeded, its value has not advanced; and we fear that a perfunctory public has not done

half its duty in encouraging the enterprising publisher to continue it with spirit and success. Still we cannot but believe that it would be better supported did it issue better works. The increasing excellence of its contents would attract the attention and engage the cordial sympathy of the best friends to sacred learning; whilst the youthful students of Scripture would learn to regard it as a sort of national work amply deserving their best support. Perhaps the place of publication has a somewhat injurious influence upon it; for we know the stiff front of the Established Church of Scotland, which smiles on nothing in theology but the phrases and moulds of its antiquated creed. Probably, too, the publisher fears the watchword of heresy, when his volumes are tried by documents as fallible in their composition as any which Germany produces. But if he be disposed to adopt the suggestions now offered, he will find that there is a goodly number in our land prepared to respond to his undertaking, and to waft it prosperously on the tide of a steady favor. There are men who will help to bring it much more prominently before the rising youth of our colleges; we allude to such as are entrusted with the interests of education, and imbued with an ardent love of religious truth. It will commence a new career of success with auspicious omens, and rise in importance as it increases in circulation. The very existence and energy of such an organ, encouraged by the masters of colleges and the tutors of academies, will cause the interests of sacred literature to thrive. Youth trained for the ministry will be furnished with suitable implements, neither shall they be ashamed of the paucity of their attainments. Fundamental works, elucidative of the holy Scriptures, will produce marvellous effects; and the higher criticism be duly appreciated. Shallow theology will not always be in vogue, nor will men continue to feed on husks. There must be something more than a theological sentimentalism to touch the tender emotions—the intellectual powers must be strengthened for grasping the gigantic principles of the Bible, and for spreading them out before the public in their comprehensive forms. The most learned perversions of holy Scripture must be overthrown with learned weapons: for if the advocates of antisupranaturalism see nothing in their opponents save a drivelling and dubious science, they will look upon their religion as the offspring of imbecility, or the child of enthusiastic ignorance. We request our readers, therefore, on behalf of such a work, to make it more efficient by their counsels, and more extensively useful by their personal influence. It deserves to be encouraged much more abundantly than it has been. Let not its philological character be so forbidding as to blind them to its importance, or cause its value to be overlooked. It is a reflection

somewhat sad to the pride of English scholarship, to be obliged thus to repair to the continent, and to borrow its treasures; but until treatises equally valuable and equally good be produced at home, we should not be ashamed to drink at the fountains opened up in other lands. And if, when they are brought as it were to the very door—when they are transferred into our own country, and accessible to all—we turn aside with loathing or with negligence, it is a melancholy token of the ignorance which walks abroad among us, and tarnishes even the service of Jehovah with its unseemly presence. It demonstrates to all who have learned to look abroad over the field of theology with purified vision, that there is still much leaven to be purged out ere substantial and satisfying food be relished by the ministers of the word. To believe that the Scriptures are not destined to be better understood than now, or that the lights of modern criticism are only fitted to dazzle the eye without penetrating the mind and informing the judgment, is the characteristic of egregious ignorance, folly, and indolence. Man has not yet fathomed what it is given him to explore even here; human learning, so much separated from the interests of religion, has yet to concentrate its best and highest energies on the book of God; and may we not hope that obscurities will be removed, truth brought out in living simplicity from the place of its abode, and the genuine interpretation of Jehovah's revealed will set forth in its transcendent value. Till then, let us diligently employ the means and helps at our disposal for discovering the right sense of every thing biblical, 'not as though we had already attained, either were already perfect.' Reaching forth to large and liberal attainments in all that pertains to theology, let us continue to advance with unabated ardor. It is a noble and dignified science—its origin heavenly, its aims pure; let us not cramp its fair features by seeking to persuade ourselves that it has already reached its summit of perfection; but press forward with persevering progress to its high ascent, where we may gaze upon the faint and far-distant radiance of that celestial intelligence, in which the rapturous spirit longs to be enshrined.

Art. V. *The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh.* By JOHN WILLIAM BOWDEN, M.A. In two vols. 8vo. London: Rivington.

THIS is one of the numerous works published during the last ten years by the new school of divinity which has its centre at Oxford. This school has been much overrated in every way. It has not displayed the amount either of learning or of genius for which it has obtained credit: and if for the praise which has been ceded to its piety and good intentions, there had been substituted a more vigorous censure of its wilful superstition, its manifest dishonesty, and its haughty and insolent intolerance, the censorship would have been much more in accordance with the nature of the case.

In the kind of learning which the tastes of these gentlemen dispose them to cultivate, it is possible to make an imposing show at no great cost. The obsolete accumulations of this nature are abundant. Very learned selections may be readily made from such sources, and with the slight advantages of a somewhat new form and style, and of application to the complexion of the times now passing over us, materials which seemed to have served their only purpose very long since, may be made to carry with them the appearance not only of being very grave in their import, but of being entitled to the claim of novelty. Men who know a little of Greek, and can read Latin with some fluency—no marvellous attainments—and who are tolerably versed in the works of authors who have read much more in those languages than themselves, need not be at a loss for the means of indulging in a vain show after such a fashion. If the pedantry of this sort, which has been displaying itself so long, has not been exposed by truly learned men as it might have been, the new school may thank the very absurdity of their system for their escape. There is your grave fop as well as your laughing fop; your fop in matters ecclesiastical as well as in matters which obtain at Almack's; but mere foppery is not a thing about which men of sense are much disposed to trouble themselves even for the sake of correcting it. Hitherto, the older devotees of this school have found their principal converts in that section of the clergy whose youth furnishes some apology for their folly and waywardness. The good sense of the laymen of the Church of England has sufficed to penetrate the folly of this scheme from the beginning. Had it been otherwise, it would not have been left to a solitary mind at Ongar, a mind not within the pale of the Church, to bring the force of a

real scholarship to bear upon its want of honesty and its pitiable arrogance.

On the matter of honesty, we must confess that we have seen too much of the disingenuousness by which all controversy has been disfigured, to be greatly surprised at any thing we meet with in that shape. The notion, that the maxim which teaches that the end sanctifies the means, is peculiar to the church of Rome, is one of our fond mistakes. The root of that maxim, as of every thing else embraced in the system of popery, is in the tendencies inseparable from our fallen nature. The politician acts upon it, consciously or unconsciously, with very rare exceptions; and the religious controversialist is in special danger from it. In one view, the goodness of the end may seem to present a sort of security for the goodness of the means which will be employed in relation to it. But the results of experience are not to that effect. On the contrary, the more the mind is impressed with the sacredness or importance of the end, the more are men in danger of finding excuses for adopting doubtful, and too often clearly forbidden means for the sake of it. Indeed, it is a common artifice for men to vest their particular objects with this character, in order that the greatness of the interest, said to be at hazard might be made to lend a sort of justification to the unauthorized expedients resorted to in its favor. The salvation of the state is admitted to be the supreme law, and men often persuade themselves that the salvation of their own party schemes is the same thing with the salvation of religion, and that to the safety of religion every other consideration should be subordinate.

Enough has come out in the pages of the *British Critic*, since that journal has become the organ of Puseyism, and in other works of the same description, to show that in taking up the forms of the middle age, these men have not failed to imbibe its spirit. The monkish air which it has been their pleasure to assume, is found to be allied both with the cruelty and the craft so natural to the monastery. Mr. Newman is, we suppose, by way of eminence, the saint of this school; but let any man read his No. 90, and the exposure of his capabilities in the way of chicanery in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*, and he will see at once the school in which these saints have acquired their morality. If men can deal thus with the articles of their own Church, which are in their own tongue, and in every body's hands, who can set bounds to their misrepresentations when dealing with the most recondite sources of ecclesiastical history? Were their learning admitted to be as sound as it is ostentatious, their character for honesty is gone—gone at least with all sober thinking men of every communion.

Many profess to regard this class of persons as sincere, while

rejecting their doctrine as untenable and absurd, and deploring its influence on the unwary as most pernicious. We must be permitted to say, that we have no great faith in that kind of sincerity which allows a man to assign a religious reason for doing what his natural conscience must assure him is morally wrong. The conviction, too, may be in a sense sincere, while the process through which the mind has passed in order to reach it has been very insincere. Saul of Tarsus, and no doubt such men as Torquemada and Loyola, partook of this kind of sincerity. But when a man's opinions are of a kind to hold out the promise of power and emolument to himself, and to menace his fellow men with the evils of plunder and oppression, it may behove us to weigh this concession to sincerity very carefully before we make it. Men's convictions are often the result of a habit of mind in which the wish is allowed to become 'the father of the thought.' In such instances, the most sincere conviction may be a choosing of darkness rather than light, and for the reason which the Teacher who knew what was in man has assigned.

What can be conceived more grateful, to a certain class of minds, than the kind of investiture which these high Church principles would throw about the christian priesthood. Let a clerk be one of the greatest dolts the county might supply, and let him be one of the greatest knaves to boot, if he has been assuredly inducted to his parish cure by means of certain prescribed ecclesiastical forms, and if he is found to be observant of certain conventional rules of propriety, he is there as a species of ecclesiastical sovereign. To him alone it pertains to receive tithes, and other ecclesiastical offerings. He alone is the authorized expounder of Holy Writ. By his hands alone can the sacraments be duly administered. It is with him to open so that no man can shut, and to shut so that no man can open. He is as a delegate of the Divinity to the people about him. To resist, is to become impious; to fail in obedience, is to fail in respect to all the virtues of salvation. How beautiful is this theory—how rich in promise! Toryism has been defined as a love of unearned emolument and power; and how potent are the claims of this scheme of ecclesiastical Toryism! How must it commend itself to the host of incapables, who are obliged to feel that insignificance is certainly their portion, if their only hope of ascendancy over their fellow men is to depend on their being really superior to them! How natural that the swarm of parsons in embryo, at Oxford and Cambridge, should wish this golden vision to be true; how very unnatural to suppose, that in persuading themselves that it is true, they have been observant of the rules of mental honesty. The sincerity of opinion is always liable to suspicion in proportion as bounty operates in

its favor. Does Job serve God for nought?—was the question of an enemy, but of an enemy who knew human nature, and who knew the force of the query which he uttered. We repeat, therefore, that it behoves us to cede the praise of sincerity very cautiously, in favor of opinions which commend themselves to the selfish passions of those who hold them, at the manifest hazard of right and liberty in society at large.

That such right and liberty would be invaded by the sect adverted to, if they possessed the power of so doing, is beyond doubt. The maxims which they avow, and the changes which they describe as those which they would fain see accomplished, are sufficiently definite to free this point from all obscurity. It is true that in their language on this subject there is nothing of violence. It is calm, brief, and determined—such as inquisitors are said to use when seated at their tribunal. It is full of the pride which counts not upon discussion or resistance, which stoops not to reason, and is prepared to crush the obdurate, according to its preconceived manner, and without pity. It would give the bishop not only his court, but his castle; and that he might deal the more effectually with delinquents, would vest him with a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. We are told, indeed, for the present, that liberty of worship, in some sort, should be continued. But enough has been said to show that the toleration of dissent would terminate with the first day of their power to put an end to it. If we could regard this mania as likely to become powerful beyond the ranks of the clergy, we should account the gravity and coolness with which it gives utterance to the most intolerant maxims, and the perfectly contemptuous air with which it passes over all notice of the objections which might be urged against its assumptions, as the feature of its character which must render it most alarming. The catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, has described proceedings instituted by an assembly of English clergy in the time of Henry the Second, against some Albigensian heretics who landed in this country, and from what we remember of the narrative, the death of the sufferers from torture, cold, hunger, and nakedness, is described without the slightest expression of sympathy; but the historian appears to feel much for the clergy whose hard lot it was to have their patience tried, and at length wholly exhausted, by a protracted examination of prisoners so little worthy the episcopal notice! In like manner our Oxford bishops would count it an evil day in which they should be obliged to listen to any statement of a dissenter's opinions, much more to the reasons of them. Even that demand, however, on their patience and condescension, they would possibly submit to, if understood as the preliminary to our being hanged, or something like it.

The author of the volumes now before us would probably account such a representation of his party as unauthorized and uncharitable. But we must be allowed to assure him that we could expect no better things than these from any body of men holding the principles which his book inculcates, and placed in circumstances to admit of those principles being acted upon freely and fully. That ideal unity and uniformity, which has so powerfully fascinated the imagination of Mr. Bowden, is a mere fiction of the brain, which no sober man can hope to see realized on earth. Nor is that all. Attempts to realize this scheme have done more, from age to age, to repel the generations of men from christianity, than has been done by all other causes to attract them towards it. It is in pursuit of this phantom that churchmen have practised frauds, and perpetrated deeds, which have made their name a suspicion and a loathing with countless multitudes of mankind. Nor have these multitudes consisted necessarily, as Mr. Bowden is wont to insinuate, of the most depraved portions of society. As commonly, and perhaps more commonly, the reverse has been the fact. The following passage, from the introduction to Mr. Bowden's volumes, will indicate the complexion of the work which he has given to the public.

‘The reformation of the Anglican church in the sixteenth century, however necessary, however beneficial, was a sudden and convulsive change: nor is it any disparagement to its leading principles or essential character to say, that, as such a change, it could not fail to be attended by a variety of incidental evils. One, and that perhaps not the least important of these its undeniable but unavoidable consequences, has been the disposition which it has induced among us to disregard our connexion, as churchmen, with the past. Though old truths were, during the era of the reformation, preserved, old associations and habits received a violent shock from the rapidity of its progress; and it has in consequence come to bear to our eyes the appearance of a much more fundamental change than, in itself, it really was. With the times antecedent to that great event we now seem practically to imagine, that we have little or no religious concern: our interest in the annals of our Church commences with the reign of Henry the Eighth, and the notion generally entertained of her character and position, during many centuries before that monarch's succession, is compounded of a broad and general impression of the errors and corruptions of modern Rome, and of a vague belief that all these evils, in all their fulness, were dominant in our island from an epoch virtually immemorial. Though we still speak of Cranmer, of Ridley, of Latimer, as reformers of our Church, the general tone which we use with respect to them rather accords with the supposition that they were her founders; we conceive them to have composed rather than to have remodelled, our ritual and liturgy; to have discovered rather than to have purified the faith we profess. And hence it has come to pass

that of all departments of historical inquiry, none has been of late more generally disregarded by us than that which would lead to an acquaintance with the varying fortunes of the church catholic and her defenders, in England or elsewhere, during the long lapse of time between the age of the primitive church and that of the divines of Edward and Elizabeth. That this interval was one of perpetual struggle, difficulty, and anxiety to the church, even the most superficial acquaintance with the secular annals of christendom would suffice to inform us. But, accustomed as we are to the unfounded notion of our English Church's recent origin, we omit to keep in mind the fact that she, as a branch of the church universal, is in some degree involved in the fortunes of that divinely founded institution throughout the world; and that it was our cause, no less than their own, which the champions of the Church have in all successive ages defended against the ever-renewed and ever-varying assaults of her adversaries. We therefore feel but little interest in contests with which, as we imagine, we have no personal concern; and cannot realize to ourselves the fact that the reformation, so far as it may be regarded as a struggle between ancient truth and modern error, was itself but the fruit of those earlier struggles which we slight, and of those labors which we depreciate; inasmuch as our Anglican fathers could never have been called to the high office of defending the faith and purifying the church, had not both the one and the other been preserved and handed down to them by the successful efforts of those who, in various times and under various circumstances, had fought the great battle before them.—pp. 1—3.

We may admit, in accordance with this passage, that one effect of the reformation of the sixteenth century was, to produce a marked severance between the christianity which was called into prominence during that interval, and the christianity of the ages preceding. It was almost inevitable, if the work was to be done at all, and especially if it were to be done speedily, that it should be accomplished as by a kind of wrench, and be in some degree overdone. In England, however, scarcely any thing of this excess occurred. The fault with us was much rather in the opposite direction. It was the great error of the English reformers to bequeath to us a powerful and opulent hierarchy, which, in the main, has proved the great bulwark of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny through every age from that to the present. But admitting the existence of the alleged excess, is there no way of correcting it without adopting anew almost every thing belonging to the priestly domination and debasing superstitions of the middle age? Because the Tee-totaller is thought to push his notions of temperance to extremes, must the man who so thinks take care to intoxicate himself every day as the best means of counteracting such extravagance? With all reverence be it spoken, it is, as we think, just a folly of this sort with which these Oxford prodigies

are chargeable. To correct the supposed excesses of Protestantism they have become papists. Millions have died within the pale of the Roman church, with the reputation of being good catholics, who have been much less papistical in their principles, language, and feeling, than these men. That there was piety in the middle age, and piety with which we ought to sympathize, notwithstanding the errors mixed up with it, every intelligent and devout mind readily admits. But it is another thing to be so smitten with a fondness for priestly power as to be prepared to seek it by a return to the besotting superstitions of the middle age, rather than lose it as the effect of the enlightened piety of our own better days.

Mr. Bowden has spoken in this passage of the English hierarchy during the middle age, as not partaking of the errors and corruptions of modern Rome, in their fulness. If his meaning in this respect is what it appears to be, no error can be more palpable. The christianity of Canterbury during those ages, and the christianity of Rome, were, in all important respects, strictly identical. The christianity of England was, from the first, unhappily, an importation from Rome; and was, of course, imbued with superstition up to the level to which that evil had then attained in the capital of the papacy. It took its first complexion from Rome in the age of Gregory the Great, and it continued to receive its complexion from that quarter to the age of the reformation. The church of England was more subservient to the papacy than the churches of France or Germany, and was distinguished in nothing from the most abject slaves of that power, except as not uniformly recognizing the temporal sovereignty claimed by the popes, and as sometimes hesitating to yield the required reverence to other matters of personal prerogative claimed by the more ambitious of the pontiffs. But the general doctrine of the English clergy was as false and pernicious as Rome itself had learnt to promulgate; and the popular superstitions which they fostered were every wit as debasing as Italy itself could have exhibited. If our author does not know this, it is only another proof among many, that the sect which has undertaken to put us all right on such matters, has a good deal to learn before it will be duly competent to the office which it has assumed. Nor is it true, as intimated by Mr. Bowden, that the popery of the council of Trent was a systematized corruption compared with the popery of the middle age. The reverse, indeed, is the fact, as the natural consequence of the purifying action of protestantism on the system to which it was opposed. We may add also, that Mr. Bowden is equally mistaken in supposing, as he seems to do, that the scriptures were made familiar to our Saxon and Norman ancestors in their own tongue, and with consent of the

church. Wycliffe, indeed, gave his countrymen a complete translation of the Old and New Testaments, but the paraphrases or translations by other hands were limited to small portions of the volume, and were not made with the slightest design of giving them an indiscriminate or general circulation. The mention of these points, as arising within the first six or eight pages of Mr. Bowden's work, will be sufficient to indicate that we might find ample space for the exercise of a corrective criticism on these volumes, if we were disposed to go fully into their contents.

But we do not conceive that we should be making the best use of our own space, or of the time of our readers, by pursuing such a course. Mr. Bowden, however, has brought considerable research to the subject of which he treats. His materials are judiciously selected, and skilfully arranged; and his style, though often so diffuse as to become wearisome, is grave and flowing, embracing that mixture of simplicity and elaboration, which is observable generally in the writings of his party. But the subject is one that can hardly be made interesting, except to persons of a particular, or we may perhaps say—a perverted taste. The first volume consists almost entirely of details relating to the intrigues, violence, and barbarism which are supposed to have had some relation to the great struggle which filled the whole life of Gregory VII. The object of that struggle was to secure to churchmen independence of the civil power, without their relinquishing any portion of the secular emolument derived from that source. So far, indeed, did the ambition of Gregory extend, that he claimed, in virtue of his office as the successor of St. Peter, to be the supreme lord of all the nations, as well as of all the churches of christendom, princes and prelates being alike his children, and bound to do his parental bidding. That the clergy, as the members of this spiritual and universal monarchy, might be stimulated to the pursuit of such exclusive and lofty purposes, the celibacy of their order was now to be strictly enforced. The claim to independence would of course be resisted, more or less, by every crowned head in Europe, and by some with their utmost force; while the question of the celibacy of the clergy would not fail to marshal the passions of a large portion of that order against the will of their accredited chief. But Gregory, after surveying to the full the difficulties before him, resolved to subdue them. It was this resolve, and the vigour with which it was prosecuted, which has made the name of Hildebrand a proverb for boundless ecclesiastical ambition. Mr. Bowden, with the confidence which has characterized the movements of his sect, has undertaken to show, that this most ambitious of priests was, in reality, one of the most devout of mankind; that the good in

him greatly outweighed the evil; and that all his errors were such as to admit of abundant extenuation. We think that his industry and talent might have been much better employed. Nor can we congratulate him on having prosecuted his object with any eminent measure of success. Our estimate of the character of Mr. Bowden's hero is not changed. Gregory could set forth the schemes of his ambition as the mission of heaven, could cite scripture in support of such showing, and could profess to be deeply afflicted by the necessity which imposed upon him the duty of being engaged so prominently in fighting the battles of the Lord and of the church. But who does not know that this was the constant language of the pontiffs, and of all the great militant churchmen throughout the middle age? It was only as they availed themselves, after this manner, of the sanctions of the invisible, that they could hope to subdue the visible to their pleasure. It is saying little to allege, that the great patron of the celibacy of the clergy was himself chaste; and that the man who lived to the indulgence of such lofty passions, could place the inferior tendencies of his nature under some control. The path of successful ambition must always be more or less marked by such sacrifices of the less, for the sake of the greater. Mr. Bowden has not assigned any thing to the virtues or piety of Hildebrand, which, in such men, may not be as readily the effect of mere policy. Admitting that there was some element of sincerity in the mind of Gregory from the beginning, and, as often happens in such cases, that the assumptions, by means of which he practised upon others, at length became an element of deception to himself, we are still obliged to regard him as the victim of his own proud and selfish passions, and as a memorable example of the depraved, more than of the virtuous in human nature.

But it must be regarded as a curious sign of the times, that such men as Thomas à-Becket and Hildebrand should have become ecclesiastical favorites with a large class of our own churchmen; that this sort of favoritism should be thus openly avowed; and that the state should be expressly told, that its province is to act as the servant of the church, and not as its patron. What effect this choice display of arrogance is to produce on the mind of our church and state liberals remains to be seen. What is learnt slowly is often learnt surely; we can only say, that the lessons acquired by our Whig statesmen on this subject seem to be acquired very slowly indeed. We repeat it as our conviction, that if the sect, whose principles are inculcated in these volumes, were only powerful enough to do after its own heart, it would soon put a complete end to all liberty and to all religion: in the place of the former it would substitute the tyranny of feudal churchmen, and in the place of the latter the illusions of a frivolous and degrading superstition.

- Art. VI. 1. *Journal of Civilization*. Parts I.—III. No. 1 to 11. London : 8vo., 1841.
2. *The Friend of Africa*. No. 1 to 10. London : 8vo., 1841.
3. *Speech of Lord John Russell, at a Dinner given to his Lordship by the New Zealand Company, the 11th day of January*. Colonial Gazette, 1841.
4. *Letter to Lord John Russell respecting the New Zealanders*. By the Rev. MONTAGUE HAWTREY. London : 12mo., 1840.
5. *Extracts of the Aborigines Protection Society*. Vol. II. No. 6, June, 1841.

CONSIDERING the degree of interest which has, within five years, been exhibited for the aborigines of some of our colonies by powerful individuals not heretofore remarkable for active sympathy in their behalf, and that this new zeal, if duly fostered, might be extended to them all with the happiest results; it is reasonable to look to the earlier and more prominent advocates of the good cause, for suitable efforts to engage, through the agency of the press, the still heartier support of the public on its side. Without that support success can never be complete; and whilst the press is indispensable as one great means for commanding it, the recent favorable position of the cause itself, so far as the capabilities of colored people have been proved, will justify the most earnest appeals. The success actually gained by humane endeavours to advance colored men in particular cases, and the decisive adoption of the ways of civilized life by them in those cases, have set at rest the old dispute, upon the possibility of a legal, social, and equal amalgamation of the most diverse races, blacks with whites, under ordinary circumstances. Thus, for instance, the *proverbially brutal* Hottentots are, at last, not only good soldiers in the British army, and good laborers in the service of colonists, and good christians at the missionary stations; but having obtained a little land of their own, with a fair degree of political justice, they are become good farmers, good citizens, and even good peace officers. Thus again some 20,000 of the border tribes, from beyond the Cape frontiers, have, since the *non-intercourse* laws were repealed in 1828, come into the Cape colony as useful laborers, and among them many are gradually acquiring fixed property, whilst some return to their tribes with fruits of their honest toil, and improved in civilization. Again, whilst this page is being written, the free and advanced Africans of Sierra Leone are, for the first time, voluntarily migrating to the West Indies; and the agent in one of the ships in which

they went, Mr. Hamilton, a naval officer of much experience in *Africa*, has made a report on the subject, noticed in the following terms in the *Colonial Gazette*, a London journal of good reputation:—‘It seems as if there was a sunny break in the ‘dark horizon of the West Indian fortunes,’ says the editor in reference to this *new* supply of civilized laborers direct from *Africa*; and he adds wisely:—

‘But from the West Indies and their fortunes, momentous as that question is, the consideration inevitably extends to the much larger question of the social destiny of the wronged African race. It cannot be denied, that even the scanty data furnished by these reports have given very strong enforcement to the reasoning which sought in *America* the regeneration of that race. In *America* it has been forced into juxtaposition with civilization; but hitherto it has been kept in so debased a condition, that it has not been able to testify the advantage which it has really derived from the contact. Relieved from that oppression, it is not slow to prove that it can make very rapid advances towards amendment. Of that fact Mr. Hamilton gives some striking testimony, drawn from the eminently free colony of *Trinidad*.

‘On landing at *Trinidad* I beheld, for the first time since the emancipation, the laboring population, and was surprised at the neat and almost elegant appearance of the people. I could scarcely have thought it possible to metamorphose the abject persons whom I had seen ten years ago as slaves, into any thing so neat and creditable. The assembled throng in the catholic cathedral at Port of Spain was particularly attractive: all shades and colors of humanity were here in juxtaposition, and it may be said without disrespect, that the advantage of dress might be disputed by the colored classes; not only were their dresses handsome, but the mode of wearing them was far beyond what could have been expected. Not only in Port of Spain and on Sundays were the people well clothed, but the same remark may be applied to their appearance in the ordinary days of the week; and even in the cane-fields and about the works the women would attract attention by their neatness and appearance.’*

An enumeration of many more such instances would be easy; and the task of contrasting the rising barbarian with the oppressed and hunted savage, will prove an equally effective and grateful occupation. Instead of wearisome attacks upon the oppressor, the triumphant exhibition, year after year, of improving tribes, now escaped from oppression, must justify the most sanguine hopes of their friends, by proving the erroneousness of the estimate formed of them by their enemies.

* Of the immigrants, the *Trinidad Gazette* of May 11, 1841, says, ‘They are very intelligent, and evidently, in point of civilization, a century in advance of the unfortunate beings who have occasionally been landed here from captured slave-ships.’

Unhappily, advantage has not been taken to improve the disposition of many to admit the force of these things; and the result is, a general complaint of the lukewarmness of the public. They who take the lead, most commendably in some respects in this cause, complain of lukewarmness, which really springs from their own neglect of proper means of raising active sympathy towards it. Instead of using such means vigorously, they have not only left the public without light respecting remedies which required more discussion in order to be effectual, but have permitted the most appalling facts to remain almost utterly in the dark, thus destroying the last hope of redress, and leaving Parliament without the means of enlightened legislation.

This charge is made upon good grounds and with great reluctance; and the sole motive for making it is, the belief that it marks an error exceedingly easy to be repaired, however fatal the effects of neglecting to repair it.

In regard to one vast country of uncivilized men, capable of being most beneficially influenced by suitable relations with Great Britain, and which country indeed is claimed to be, according to the law of civilized nations, a British dependency, it has been stated by an eloquent speaker, that recent fearful occurrences there, which ought to have caused a *vibration throughout christendom*, were passed over *almost in a whisper*. (*Speech of Dr. Harris at the Hull Anniversary Missionary Meeting, June 1841.*)

This statement was strictly justified by the fact; and the reproach involved in it strikes home to a numerous body of good men, who cannot surely long remain insensible to the claims which such a cause has upon their most active sympathy. These excellent men have fallen into a common mistake. Feeling rightly themselves, they have confounded the strong and ready sympathy of *their own wide circle* with that UNIVERSAL RESPONSE to which they never made a suitable appeal.

'*A deep and general interest is felt throughout the country,*' says the Rev. Mr. Ellis in 1839, in the preface to his History of Madagascar, in reference to the very same events which, *in June last*, drew from Dr. Harris, better informed by two years' more experience of the sad scenes referred to, the foregoing acknowledgment. The whole case of Madagascar is, indeed, full of instruction; and, taken in all its parts, and carried carefully over the whole period of thirty years, during which Great Britain has possessed a commanding influence there by the conquest of Mauritius in 1810, it illustrates every point that bears materially upon the great problems, how barbarians are to be improved by the influence of civilized states, and how civilized states may the most satisfactorily deal with barbarians. A

brief recapitulation of the history of British relations with Madagascar, will show what course ought to be pursued in a new crisis that has just arisen in the chief of the native governments; and it may be said without reserve, that without a proper effort to *enlighten* the public upon the subject, that crisis will only lead to a repetition of oft repeated horrors. At present events occur unceasingly throughout the world of the most painful interest to our colonists, and to their colored neighbors, although those events pass almost unheeded, cost us whatever they may—much often in money—but far more in outraged humanity, and in our national honor. The torrents of blood shed in South Africa, on the part of *whites* as well as blacks, in the *last four years*, not fewer than 12,000 having been massacred on both sides, including hundreds of women and children; and the miserable cases of the Rev John Williams, and of Captain Croker, of the royal navy, in the South Seas, with many late disasters attending our intercourse with the aborigines in all the Australias, where the whites and blacks are massacring each other in turn; and some governors, not only putting law at defiance, but all of them, and the home Government too, grossly neglecting the proper system to end these abominations,—these undeniable facts are but samples of scenes to be met with in all quarters. They may not be worse in themselves than the events of former periods, but the distinction is plain;—these things all happen in *our* days, when we flatter ourselves we are become better men than our forefathers; but when the truth is that we are, at this very moment, throwing away all their experience by being content with the measures of which that experience demonstrated the insufficiency.

The case of Madagascar, we repeat, particularly bears out our proposition. It is even more neglected than other countries involved in this question; and as it is replete with instruction upon the whole matter, as well as of urgent present interest, a better illustration could not be selected for the details necessary to establish the object of this article.

The cession of Mauritius and its dependencies in 1810, gave to Great Britain, by the European law of nations, territorial rights in Madagascar,* which various motives have induced the

* 'This island is somewhat larger than Great Britain and Ireland, containing an industrious, intelligent, and semi-civilized population, amounting, there is reason to believe, to between four and five millions.'—*Narrative of J. J. Freeman and D. Johns*, 1840, p. 2.

'The population of Madagascar has generally been supposed to amount to about four millions. . . . From a census taken in the time of King Radama (in 1827), it may be stated at from four and a half to five millions.

government silently to give up. Our commercial interests in the same country are preserved to this day; and they daily become more and more extensive. The obligations, too, of humanity, imposed by our ancient connexion with that country, have been distinctly recognized within the last thirty years, although those obligations have not been discharged with fitting discrimination and perseverance. Under our influence the export of slaves to any British or French colony has ceased; and

The basis of this census was the returns of the officers of districts that there were upwards of one million of houses in the country, with an average of five persons in each house. This estimate comprised the four chief divisions of the people—the Hovas at 750,000, the Sakalavas, Bezanozeno, and Antsianaka at 1,200,000; the Betsileo at 1,500,000; and the Betanimena and Betsimisaraka at 1,000,000. *This amount of population is evidently less than the island has contained at former and not remote periods of its history.*—*History of Madagascar by the Rev. William Ellis*, vol. i. p. 113, 1839.

Mr. Ellis's reasons for this last opinion are the extent of embankments in districts once cultivated, and ranges of deserted villages, especially among the tribes recently conquered by the Hovas; and the great preponderance of the female sex. The soundness of these reasons, and the fact that the population of Madagascar has greatly diminished, have been confirmed to us within a few days by a French physician, who passed many years in the island, and in the neighboring seas. That gentleman has referred us to the following passage in a French narrative of 1670, which alone sufficiently accounts for the decrease, so far as one sort of European influence is concerned. After a succession of combats, in which *the priest of the mission* led the way with a crucifix to encourage the French, the author quoted says, 'A horrible carnage was made of our enemy's troops. Almost all of them fell. Of 10,000 men not a sixth escaped. No prisoners were taken. For six days afterwards more than 150 villages were burned; and more than 1000 souls, men, women, and children, perished in them. Four thousand cows were carried off. Being followed by above fifteen of the enemy, we took four, of whom three were ordered to be stabbed on the spot, the fourth, who confessed himself to be a relation of the chief against whom the war was made, had his hands and ears cut off.'—*Voyage de Madagascar, par M. de V.* Paris, 1722, pp. 220—238.

To this mode of killing the natives, we add, from the same book, a description of the course taken to starve them. 'We set out upon a *foraging* expedition among a tribe 200 miles distant from Fort Dauphin, where we remained six months. Every day was passed in collecting slaves and cows; and half of the booty was given to our native allies. We took back 13,800 head of cattle, without losing a single man. The governor had one-tenth for his share; the party one fourth, or sixty-six head to each soldier, besides an allowance of five pounds of meat daily. This spoil shows the abundance of cattle in the country.'—*Ib.* pp. 64—66.

Mr. Copland says that Benyowsky estimated the number of males in Madagascar in the last century at 2,500,000, which would carry the whole population much beyond 4,000,000. Mr. Copland adds, that the slave-trade 'and still more infanticide, have effectually kept it down.'—*History of Madagascar, by S. Copland, London, 1822, p. 34.*

We have heard doubts expressed by a good authority as to infanticide being practised so *extensively* in Madagascar as greatly to affect the population.

few slaves seem now to be smuggled from Madagascar to other parts of the world. Thus, in reference to this fine island, with its millions of semi-civilized inhabitants, two grand obstacles to all social improvement—*conquests by Europeans and the slave-trade*—are removed. Many deplorable oppressions were practised and caused by Europeans in Madagascar before these important results were attained. The earliest christian settlements produced proofs both of the friendly dispositions of the natives and of our vices. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese prevailed on a chief to send his son to Goa for instruction. He was baptized; and when he succeeded his father in power, and in kindly sentiments to the christians, he was killed in an unprovoked attack of the French upon his village. The French ultimately formed considerable establishments in the island; and long wars followed, which were sometimes aggravated by the influence of the Portuguese over the natives. The slave-trade was soon introduced, and it lasted for three centuries, marked with its usual horrors and treacheries. The mischievous old maxim, too, of extending power by sowing dissensions, was unscrupulously adopted; and the sword was mainly depended upon for extending civilized influence over the natives; whilst even conversion to christianity was attempted to be forced upon them.

During all this time marriages between Europeans and the noble families were frequent; and the most devoted attachments were formed by many of the chiefs with French officers. The first French governor married the daughter of one of them; and other French officers successively became adopted petty sovereigns on similar marriages. At a late period in the last century, the famous Polish adventurer, Benyowsky, demonstrated his own fine talents, and the good tendencies of this barbarous people, by establishing himself among them with great prospects of promoting their civilization. The jealousy of neighboring colonists at the dawning advancement of a country, that might thus be rescued from their pernicious influence, ruined the attempt.

So early as in 1767, the French government practically recognized that *conquest* was a false principle in this case. '*It is only by force of example, morals, religion, and a superior policy,*' that Madagascar is to be subdued, was the foundation of an enterprise undertaken in that year by the authority of France. These good views were not, however, persevered in; and when in 1792 an agent of the National Assembly revived them without any qualification, enlarging with eloquence upon the contrast presented between the character of the natives and the conduct of Europeans, the absorbing events of the revolution easily enabled the advocates of inhuman policy to pur-

sue it thirty years longer without any visible change. The wreck of the French settlements passed into British hands in 1810, when our first colonists were cut off to a man in consequence of the gross indiscretion of an English trader. But the neighboring chiefs punished severely the excessive vengeance of the injured native; and their anxiety to continue upon good terms with us was exhibited in their liberal grants of land to the governor of Mauritius, for the renewal of the settlement.

That governor, Farquhar, early saw the advantage of extending friendly intercourse with *all* the chiefs of Madagascar. He encouraged an important native mission sent to Mauritius for the education of some young Madegasses of distinction, and for other purposes. He promoted the abolition of their annual slavery and marauding expeditions to the Comoro Islands, and ultimately made an important treaty with Radama, the powerful chief of the Hovas, for the abolition of the slave-trade. This was accomplished in 1817; but it could not alone effect its object; and grave questions have been raised whether the military strength given to Radama and his successor in consequence of it, did not promote a deplorable system of internal and sanguinary conquests. Probably, however, those conquests would have been pursued by Radama if no treaty had been made with Great Britain. His father was a conqueror without any connexion with us, as his usurping successor became one after that connexion had ceased—the love of domination being one of the vices which this people share in common with more civilized nations. The sale, too, of slaves would have furnished Radama with more money than we stipulated to give him; whilst the absence of this treaty would have weakened the efforts of the missionaries at his capital; just as since it was annulled they have been compelled to retire, and all kinds of violence have increased in Madagascar tenfold.

The efforts of the missionaries, which were thus fostered by the treaty, produced results which are the most remarkable events of their kind in our day. In amount of influence, even under exceedingly disastrous circumstances, the Madagascar missions since 1818 to their suppression in 1834, have few parallels, and no superiors in the modern annals of christianity.

In fact, the treaty of 1817, with Radama, seems to have had but one fault. It stood single, instead of being accompanied by other treaties with *all the other sovereign chiefs of the island*, whom on the contrary the very style of our engagements with Radama, *their enemy*, tended to crush.

But setting aside the consideration of this great mistake, we assume it to be beyond doubt, that the policy of our government in sanctioning the treaty was in itself wise; and we pro-

ceed briefly to trace its history in reference to our present object.

The treaty with Radama aimed at cultivating all the measures which could promote civilization, under the well directed influence of an enlightened and powerful barbarous chief; to abolish the slave-trade; and to substitute legitimate trade for it by means of thus extending civilization. The first clear information of what was well projected by the governor of Mauritius, must have been received in the colonial office in Downing Street in the spring of 1817, although *it was not laid before parliament until nine years afterwards*. The treaty contemplated by the governor in 1816, was made in October, 1817, subject to confirmation by the crown; but it was acted upon from the first; and in pursuance of its provisions an important political British agency was then established in Madagascar, accompanied by the religious mission above mentioned.

Before these negotiations had begun, the contraband slave-trade in these parts increased at Mauritius, in consequence of its legal re-establishment at Bourbon for a limited time by the treaty of 1814-5 with France. But although this, and other concurrent causes, thus tended to promote slavery, it is still certain that the export received a great check from the first steps taken by Radama to execute the treaty. It was, therefore, important that on our part nothing should be done to weaken his exertions. What then is to be said of the actual suspension of this very treaty for more than *two years* by another governor, who had only the temporary authority in Mauritius? It was indeed renewed, although with great difficulty, by the original framer, upon his resuming his government,—the home authorities not appearing at any period to have directly sanctioned this vacillation. But an insufficient knowledge of facts permitted it, and ignorance in Downing Street prevents the ministers forming a sound opinion as to the importance of such *treaties* with barbarous people. Indeed Madagascar is by no means the only country in reference to which they have been undervalued; and the topic is connected with one of the most important questions affecting the interests of aboriginal tribes.

Nor is it necessary for the argument before us, to impute any bad intention to the temporary governor who so unfortunately interfered with the treaty. We say only that his error was flagrant; and it unquestionably occasioned at the time great loss of life in Madagascar, as it has since materially tended to aggravate the fearful calamities of the country,—the persecution of the numerous converts to christianity,—even more sanguinary wars than before,—and other great disorders.

A fresh incident soon occurred in connexion with the treaty,

which was of the same character, and had the same consequences with its suspension. After the governor who originally made it had finally quitted Mauritius, the very able agent he had appointed from the colony to Madagascar died at the capital in 1826, after seven years' effective services, deeply regretted by Radama. To replace him forthwith was plainly of the greatest importance, both to preserve the confidence of the natives and to keep up the chain of just influence over a people thus passing out of barbarism.

Notwithstanding this urgent call for the British representative at the capital of the Madagascar chief, none was sent thither for nearly two years; nor even a substitute, although Mauritius is situated only ten days from the place; and the gentleman who was appointed the next year from England to the post, left it for that colony immediately after landing at one of the sea ports. The intelligence in the *following year* of the decease of Radama reached this gentleman in Mauritius, and he then hurried away to the scene of his duties. Not even a substitute had been sent thither before; and it really seems as if a wrong influence still prevailed, similar to that which occasioned the suspension of the treaty. But if instead of this long delay, the party which adopted Radama's reforms had been supported by a British agent already familiar with those reforms, and enjoying the personal confidence of Radama himself, the opponents of the new system would either have forborne their violent proceedings, or have failed of success. In fact the new agent, late as he arrived, was at the first received with attention even by the anti-civilized government which then usurped the supreme power; and the overthrow of any of the late king's measures was gradual, whilst some of them have been persevered in to this day. It is clear there prevailed a desire to prevent the departure of the missionaries, as well as to persevere in the measures for abolishing the slave-trade; and it was not for many months that the treaty itself was annulled. The agent was also permitted to remain at the capital four months after its termination; and he continued to be well used. Unquestionably a struggle of feelings and of parties was in progress; and this struggle lasted for six years longer, until the missionaries were forbidden to teach christianity, whereupon they left Madagascar.

Pending these events, a powerful French expedition attempted to re-establish the dominion of France in her old settlements, but it signally failed; and the queen, whilst offering *commercial* treaties to the French, firmly refused them an inch of territory.

Various causes are suggested for this resistance to the reforms introduced under Radama's treaty. Without denying that great influence is to be attributed to other motives, such as the jealousy against mere innovation, a disinclination to aban-

don the profits of slave-selling, a love of old superstitions, and the like, we incline to attribute more weight to the dread of the encroachments of Europeans if they should once acquire a firm domicile in Madagascar. 'They had received,' says Mr. Ellis, (vol. ii. p. 534,) 'very highly-colored statements of British encroachments in India, Ceylon, and South Africa.' That jealousy is traceable in increasing strength in proportion as the Madagasses, like so many other people, have had more and more experience of the evils of European domination. But it has not blinded them to the benefits of European civilization; they are therefore anxious for intercourse with us; and they have again and again urged that direct embassies should be established between themselves and the European courts. Even the usurping anti-reforming government in 1837, sent such an embassy to London and to Paris; whilst several of the minor chiefs have repeatedly sought our protection against the conquering Hovas, who constitute this government, as it did that of Radama.

Violent passions unquestionably prevail among the natives of all ranks; and, above all, the ambition of the more powerful among them has, of late years, made dreadful ravages in the country. But the question returns—how their civilized neighbours, the French and the English, may best give to those passions a proper government, and a safe direction. Hitherto their influence in Madagascar has been immense, although it has been, for the most part, wretchedly applied; and where it has of late been improved in its character, at least by the British, the uncertainty attending this its better exercise has amounted almost to imbecility. Seeing, however, that though our home government and parliament, and above all the public, have no interest but in acting wisely in this case, and in elevating the Madagascar people, however the neighbouring colonists may have thought their continued debasement might benefit themselves, we can only attribute the bad policy that has been followed to profound and general ignorance. We therefore urge that this ignorance be put an end to by bringing all material facts early and fully before the public and the parliament, which will make the government itself appreciate their value, and apply the best possible remedies to all evils.

The case of Haiti offers a still later, and perhaps stronger illustration of the position that the public's notorious ignorance of facts is a crying evil; and in the particular case of Haiti, the friends of the cause itself are themselves to be blamed for the extent of that fatal ignorance. Unfortunately the proof is but too ready at hand. M. Isambert, the first authority in Europe on the subject, has even within a few days solemnly published his belief, that a civil war is on the point of

breaking out in that country which ought without new sufferings to have become a great example of African civilization. 'It is urgent,' says M. Isambert, 'that *the truth be known* upon the course of public affairs in Haiti since 1825; and especially since 1838. . . . Long have I observed in silence what has been passing. Nothing have I neglected that could excite caution, and I have given advice in every form I could devise. But I am at length convinced that effectual warnings can only proceed from a more powerful source. I am now obeying an irresistible sense of duty in appealing to the press to discharge myself from responsibility for what is coming.'

In these few words, which are given in the original below,* in order that M. Isambert's meaning may not be supposed to be unfairly stated, lies the whole case. This excellent man finds out, upon the eve of the explosion, that proper precautions would have prevented the mischief. He says, 'he neglected no means of warning.' But surely a *long silence* in such emergencies was a terrible neglect. The explanation of M. Isambert's being so 'long' a *silent* observer of Haitian politics deserves grave consideration; and it is with great deference for him in other respects, that we express our conviction to be this: he has hitherto undervalued the effect of information being *early* and *perseveringly* conveyed to the public upon this subject. His present appeal shows his too late impressions, that public opinion is the true source from which wise policy is to flow; and the British friends of Haiti who now are silent, as M. Isambert *has been* silent, are earnestly called upon to consider whether this error does not demand correction.

* From the Constitutionnel, a Paris paper, of July 14.

'Lettre sur la Situation d'Haiti.'

'J'ai les raisons les plus graves de craindre une catastrophe prochaine, ou de voir éclater une guerre civile dans cet intéressant pays. Il est urgent que la vérité se fasse jour sur la direction donnée aux affaires de ce pays depuis 1825, et surtout depuis 1838. Certainement le gouvernement Français n'a pas le droit d'intervenir dans les affaires intérieures du pays, mais principalement parce qu'il est ami d'Haiti, et parce qu'il a des intérêts à conserver, il a le droit de conseil et de représentation amicale.

'Nous faisons les vœux les plus ardens pour qu'il n'éclate pas de guerre civile en Haiti, mais, pour atteindre ce but, dans les circonstances graves où ce pays se trouve, ce n'est pas en couvrant par le silence des fautes énormes, qu'on préviendra des malheurs; voilà longtemps que nous observons les événemens en silence, nous n'avons négligé aucun moyen d'avertissement et de conseil, mais nous avons acquis la triste conviction, et les Haïtiens fidèles à la cause nationale dont nous sommes les organes l'ont comme nous, que les avertissemens doivent venir de plus haut pour être efficaces.

'Nous croyons remplir un devoir sacré, urgent, et impérieux, en nous adressant à la presse, car nous ne voulons pas être responsables des événemens.

'ISAMBERT, député.'

It is an aggravation of this neglect, by the friends of the aborigines, that they themselves are by this means kept in ignorance of many important facts, as has been often proved in the affairs of Haiti. Many enlightened and benevolent men must admit their utter unacquaintedness with the fact, so warmly denounced by the late Zachary Macaulay in his French pamphlet on those affairs, that England made a three years' war upon the Haitians during their *first* struggle for freedom; and probably the existence of this able pamphlet is scarcely known to British philanthropists. Again, many other enlightened and benevolent men must admit their utter ignorance of the recent fact of a Haitian diplomatic agent being refused a passage to Europe in a christian ship on account of his color; and it may be asserted safely that exceedingly few benevolent people know that Haitian coffee could be sold in London at half the price of that which we consume in common of the same quality,—although our refusal to take that good, cheap coffee, and other cheap produce, from the Haitians, exceedingly aggravates their difficulties, which, according to M. Isambert, threaten a civil war.

Surely this miserable ignorance should be got rid of. Mr. Wilberforce saw the need of efforts on this head, as is shown by several passages in his biography, but he was entangled by his connexion with the colonial office, as that biography also shows, and so he helped to ruin the cause he had so sincerely at heart; and at this very moment the same official entanglement prevents a powerful section of the philanthropists doing their duty on this particular point.

We appeal, then, to all who have no such unfortunate ties, to concur in measures dictated alike by common sense and humanity, for bringing fully before the public *all* the events which influence the happiness of the colored millions whom they wish to protect, improve, and christianize.

These measures are twofold: in the first place, on the opening of every session there should be laid before parliament all the official details that can be collected from all the authorities in our colonial and maritime world, in any way affecting the aborigines. In addition to the argument from the usefulness of such an exposition of documents, it is to be considered that in principle this exposition is not new in parliamentary usage. For twelve years after the year 1696, it was the practice of the government to lay similar papers before parliament; and they are to be seen in the Journals. The want of the formal establishment and extension of the practice will not be doubted, when it is considered that since 1837 scarcely a line has been communicated to either house upon the aborigines of Africa—not a line upon the Indians of Canada—nothing upon the people of Guiana—

almost nothing upon the aborigines of Australia;* and even of New Zealand, after all the most important efforts made in many quarters to improve our relations with them, so little, that the most interesting questions respecting that people, who are now British, are in a state of the most distressing uncertainty for want of sufficient reports of facts.

Nevertheless, except in New Zealand, where extraordinarily favorable circumstances have hitherto staved off collisions inevitable without a good *system*, events have recently occurred urgently demanding parliamentary intervention—in South Africa, since 1837, the loss of life—white and black—in West Africa, the most interesting of all questions have been raised,—for example, questions of war and peace, and of treaties with the tribes bordering on our settlements; and, lastly, the great question of free migration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies. On one West African question, indeed, respecting *coffee*, two or three pages have been printed, which, in betraying the most disgraceful ignorance in the Colonial Office, account for its indisposition to let the truth be known. In Canada, since 1837, many of the aborigines have been exposed to the worst of all attacks, next to being massacred,—they have been subjected to the process of *removal*, adopted from the practice which in the United States has caused such enormous cost of life and treasure. In Guiana the important difficulty about the *evidence* of the natives, the rejection of which in our courts is an absolute denial of justice in numerous cases between man and man, has been regretted by the governor in a recent proclamation. In South Australia, and in every other Australian colony, it is an undeniable fact, that sanguinary acts of an aggravated character have occurred on both sides. And even India and Ceylon, which offer so much both for warning and for example, upon all aboriginal points, are equally kept out of parliamentary cognizance.

The New Zealand case, too, which in 1838 could, by the excellent disposition of powerful men of all parties, have been so easily and so successfully brought before the *legislature*, has been made matter of what looks sadly like a compromise, in which the interests of the natives are to lose all the guarantees which the bill of 1838 would have secured them. The colonial office in that year resisted the bill and the colonial enterprise, on the ground of consideration for the natives. The same office has now sanctioned the colonial enterprise without requiring in a *bill* the only safeguard that can be devised for them.

* The disclosures of Mr. Angas to the South Australian Committee last session, prove the necessity of a searching inquiry into this case.

It is wilful blindness not to see that the sole motive for this avoidance of parliament, is the determination to treat the affairs of the aborigines as a colonial office *perquisite*; and the true way to meet an evil of this character is to bring those affairs regularly before both houses, and occasionally into the Gazette.

In the next place, there ought to be published *weekly, monthly, and quarterly journals* upon *all* things that concern aborigines all over the world, and upon *all* their relations with civilized man. The public taste has never been indifferent to these topics; and a numerous library could be formed of the books in print and in manuscript, directly bearing upon it. From Shakspeare, and before him,* to Cowper and Campbell, our literature bears distinct traces of the attention given to the condition of the savage by the most refined and most brilliant of his fellow-men. Defoe, Swift, Addison, and Pope† were really aborigines protectors. Berkeley was no less illustrious for his fine talents than for his pure benevolence in this field. Johnson joined Adam Smith in denouncing the disregard of human life in the voyage of Captain Cook, who at last was unquestionably himself its victim; and to pass over a crowd of other instances, Granville Sharpe, the father of modern philanthropy of *every kind*, studiously disseminated his humane doctrines in the large schools of London; and the older seat of learning, Cambridge, gave the prize, which Clarkson, the noble follower of Granville Sharpe, won, and thus called the exercise of the intellect in aid of the best impulses of the heart.

The tribes to be benefited by such efforts want nothing so much as a powerful *agency* in Europe to advocate their interests; and what has been said of the utility of the periodical press at home, as the best defence of colonists, is eminently true of the same agent for those tribes. The *impartiality* which may be fairly said to be inherent more or less in all literature, elevates its character; and the rapidity with which printing strips hy-

* So early as in 1517 a poem was published, in which the interests of the aborigines were distinctly recognized, as will be seen by the following brief extract:—

‘ But yet not long ago some men of this country went
By the King’s noble consent, that new land for to search.
O! what a great meritorious deed it were to have its people there,
Instructed to live more virtuously and know of men the manners,
And also to know God their Maker, which as yet live all beastly.’
The Four Elements (A.D. 1517), by Serjeant Rastel, or Sir Thomas More.

† Pope’s fine passage at the close of the ‘Windsor Forest,’ respecting the connexion of barbarous tribes with Great Britain, is too long to be inserted in this paper; but the trouble of turning to the poem will be well repaid by the perusal of it.

pocrisy of its mask, and exposes the oppressor, gives it inestimable value.

The benevolent societies should take the lead in arranging this scheme of publications; preparing the funds necessary for its execution; and what is at least as important as funds, opening from their boundless correspondence the indispensable stores of facts and opinions now in a great measure lost to the world. What a great man of the seventeenth century, *Gassendi*, said of the Catholic missionaries, is now verified by ours also, upon at least as large a scale, namely, that *their reports are calculated to extend the boundaries of science*; and probably the greater *political* freedom of Protestant missionaries will be found to carry their information into more important branches of human concerns.

It is not proposed that a *general union* of the societies should be attempted for this purpose. But it is believed that the common ground of the press may be trodden with great advantage by all who are zealous in the same cause, however different may be their particular modes of action in other respects. As the anti-slavery convention of June, 1840, comprised many very dissimilar elements, which one object united for the hour most usefully; so, to attain the single immense advantage of *public attention* to the aborigines, the divers members of this body, and even more than they, might agree to combine their resources of every kind for this purpose.

We have cautiously narrowed our illustrations, and their application, to the special ground occupied by what are called the *aborigines*, with their claims upon public sympathy; and we have abstained from examining those vast bearings of the subject which concern other fields of philanthropy, cultivated by the various benevolent and religious societies. We have even more carefully avoided the attractive speculations to which these inquiries into the condition and prospects of the savage and the barbarian, invite the student of general history. This has arisen from the limited space allotted us in these pages,—not from an unwillingness to suggest a new and more important work to those societies, on the one hand, and still less, on the other hand, from a doubt of the advantage of an historical discussion of those topics. We are deeply convinced of the magnitude of the error committed both by philanthropists and writers in neglecting them. With respect to the philanthropists, valuable as are the publications, for example, of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, the prospects of the multitudinous tribes of barbarians connected with civilized men—of the natives of Asia, and of the enslaved millions every where, would be far more hopeful than they are at present, if the zeal of their friends were more and more enlightened; and

if public sympathy were more and more steadily roused by intelligence as well as by good feeling. The *opium* question with China, the foreign sugar duties question, the case of the Rajah of Sattara, and the like, prove the immense importance of spreading far and wide the *timely* knowledge of facts, in order to the formation of sound conclusions upon matters remote from common experience.

With respect to the proper subjects of general history, the omission of the topics now under consideration has been even more remarkable; and a curious catalogue might be made to prove the *deliberate* neglect of those topics by the most eminent writers of all nations. Bacon, Bossuet, Voltaire, De Sismondi, and Professor Smythe, of Cambridge, expressly open them; and then, for most insufficient reasons, lay them entirely aside. Sir James Mackintosh and Herder are, we believe, the only great authors who have shown their due appreciation of the vast importance of these topics. They both, however, failed to follow out their convictions. The main work, therefore, still remains to be done; and we repeat, that to secure its being done well, nothing now is so much needed as the extensive and accurate publication of the periodical works called for in the foregoing pages.

We have not commented upon the works of which the titles are prefixed to this article,—*the Journal of Civilization, the Friend of Africa*, and *the Extracts of the Aborigines Protection Society*. Whilst they indicate satisfactorily a growing appetite in the public for information upon the subject to which they are dedicated, and whilst all of them contain some valuable facts, it is not a spirit of censoriousness that prompts the remark, that they are very poorly calculated suitably to gratify that appetite. The Speech of Lord John Russell opens a better general prospect for the aborigines, in the earnest call of the minister for the colonies for some means to save the country from the disgrace of building up a new and prosperous community, in the instance of New Zealand, upon the ruin of the native tribes. His lordship would have done well to have followed this up last session by furnishing parliament with the materials indispensable to prevent such a melancholy result, which, as things stand, is in a high degree probable. Lord John Russell may still prepare the foundation for a good future; and in the speculations contained in the Rev. Montague Hawtrey's little volume on New Zealand, as well as in some other recent books on the general subject, may be found many hints worth adopting by *the legislature* in the *system* still wanted in order to the elevation of the colored man, and render christian colonization as universally beneficent as it cannot fail ultimately to be great.

- Art. VII. 1. *Some inquiries into the effects of Fermented Liquors, by a Water Drinker.* 3rd edition revised. Simpkin and Co.
 2. *Digestion.* By ROBERT DUNDAS THOMSON, M.D. J. SNOW.
 3. *The Curse of Britain.* By REV. W. R. BAKER. Ward and Co.
 4. *Bacchus.* By RALPH BARNES GRINDROD. Pasco.
 5. *Teetotalism.* By MORTLOCK DANIELL. Dinnis.
 6. *Anti-Bacchus.* By REV. B. PARSONS. J. SNOW.
 7. *The Wine Question Settled.* By REV. B. PARSONS.

WHAT shall we eat, and what shall we drink? are questions immeasurably degrading to the man who propounds them with a view to sensual indulgence; but which ought to be propounded, and solved, with a reference to the health of the body and the mind, to longevity, morals, and religion. The nutriment which best meets the wants, and tends most to the perfection of the various forms of vegetable life, has been studied with laudable industry; and equal diligence has been bestowed on the dietetics of the brute creation; while it seems to have been, by many, taken for granted, that the human constitution requires no such care, to secure for it the highest degree of improvement. Yet no one can doubt that man, considered merely as an animal, is greatly dependent for the enjoyment of life, and for the length of his life, on the kind of sustenance he receives. As little can it be doubted that the spiritual is dependent on the animal part of his nature: and all who are accustomed to mental exertion know full well, that the soul is darkened and crippled by all disorders of the digestive functions. Works like those named first on the list above, are, therefore, to be hailed, as throwing light on a subject of deep interest to every man, woman, and child.

It is admitted, on all hands, that among the gifts of divine beneficence, the vine occupies a conspicuous place: and it would seem scarcely more evident that the bountiful Creator intended that we should pluck and eat the cluster, than that he designed us to drink its expressed and fermented juice. That grapes are given to be turned into wine, appears almost a self-evident truth. When we consider (says Dr. Donovan) how simple and obvious the process is of obtaining wine from the grape, we are led to conclude that the invention of it must be nearly coeval with the existence of that fruit:* and quite true is the affirmation of Mr. Daniell, that the law of fermentation is the

* Lardner's Cyclopædia, Domestic Economy, vol. i. p. 12.

law of God. The yeast is provided in ample abundance in the grape, and, almost in spite of man, will convert the must (the expressed juice of grapes) into wine. So far is this process from being the invention of sensual man, that without any effort or skill on his part fermentation proceeds with incredible rapidity; insomuch that the juice as it flows from the grape will often ferment before it arrives at the vat, owing to the pressure and motion to which, when being carried from the vineyard, it has been subjected.* Fermentation is the natural process, which may indeed be prevented, but the prevention of which involves much difficulty. Accordingly it has been found that wherever the vine has flourished, its produce, as a matter of course, has been fermented into wine. That the Creator of all fruits designed it to be so used, would seem at least as evident as his purpose that corn should be manufactured into leavened bread.

Turning to the bible, we find this inference justified. The country given to the 'peculiar people' was distinguished by the abundance and productiveness of its vineyards; and God, who gave it them, represented the wine those vineyards would yield, as among its choice blessings. That the wine press and the wine vat were as common as the threshing floor, was to them a proof of the divine goodness. And when the disobedience of the people called down the judgments of heaven, the wine was withholden as a severe punishment. Great plenty of wine, on the other hand, is employed as a metaphor to shadow forth the better blessings of later times. That the wine of scripture, spoken of in the language of commendation, was the fermented juice of the grape, is a fact which no man of competent information and sound judgment will deny or doubt. The evidence of this fact, both direct and indirect, is far too strong to admit, amongst intelligent men, of any disputation; and inasmuch as God, who not only legislated for the Jews in things strictly religious, but taught them what they should eat and what they should drink, gave them wine for a beverage, the conclusion would seem to be unavoidable, that wine is not poisonous, nor deleterious, but wholesome.

The manufacture of wines and spirits may be explained in the most familiar manner thus:—when the housewife in England has pressed out the juice of her currants or gooseberries, and added a quantity of sugar (because in this climate the fruit is not sufficiently sweet of itself), she further adds to the mixture of juice and sugar a small quantity of yeast, and the whole is fermented. By this process much of the sweetness of the mixture is converted into spirit, and the mixture itself becomes wine. In making wine in countries suitable to the growth of the

* *Edinburgh Encyclopædia.* Article Wine.

grape, it is not necessary to add sugar, because the fruit contains a sufficiency of sugar, or saccharine matter ; neither is it necessary to add any thing to produce fermentation, because the grape contains yest. The juice of the fruit is simply pressed into a vat, and left to ferment ; and wine is the result. Let us (still avoiding all technicalities) suppose that a little of this fermented grape juice, or wine, were put into a tea-kettle, and placed over a fire, the steam that first escaped would be the spirit which the fermentation had produced ; that is to say, it would be brandy. The distiller is one who adopts the best means known, of catching the spirit as it escapes in the form of steam, and rendering it as pure as possible.

The conclusion at which we have arrived, respecting the wholesomeness of wine, leaves quite undetermined the question as to the propriety or impropriety of using distilled spirits as a beverage ; for whatever some ardent advocates of temperance may affirm, it remains to be proved that the spirit created by fermentation, and by that process blended intimately with the weightier portion of the wine, has the same effect upon the human system when taken in this combination, as when taken in its distilled state. Two poisons chemically mingled form that wholesome condiment, salt ; and, for aught that yet appears, alcohol, when in chemical combination as an element of wine, may operate very differently from the same element when out of that combination. If it be otherwise, then certainly the argument we have used must be allowed to lead to the inference that brandy, used in moderation, is wholesome : but we deny the right of any man, at present, to place brandy and wine in the same category. The slightest difference in the manner of uniting the same elements, will apparently be productive of the most different results ; much more will such difference exist where the elements themselves are dissimilar. Analysis has hitherto failed to detect any difference of composition between starch, the most insoluble and tasteless of all bodies, and sugar, one of the most soluble and the sweetest :* and if ingredients, apparently the same in kind and quantity, may be blended into such diverse compounds, it ought not to be glibly asserted that the spirit in its vinous combination is equivalent to the same spirit in its distilled state. Such an assertion is not only unsustained by proof, but is at variance with the evidence already in existence.

‘ Wine intoxicates less effectually than the quantity of brandy which it would afford on distillation ; and for this reason, that the brandy is held in chemical combination, and its qualities are modified by the other combined substances. That the alcohol is thus retained in

* Domestic Economy, vol. i. p. 67.

chemical combination with other matter, by a somewhat energetic affinity, appears by the experiments of Fabroni, who found that if he added ever so small a quantity of brandy to wine, and then mixed with it a large portion of subcarbonate of potash, the brandy was thrown up to the surface, where it formed a floating stratum. But if he did not add brandy, the addition of potash occasioned no appearance of separation of the brandy natural to the wine. The effects of wine, and its spirit, on the animal economy, are therefore different: those of alcohol are sudden, violent, and transitory; those of wine are gradual, gentle, and lasting.*

‘The alcohol in wine, combined in the natural way, when drunk in that state, is not productive of those complaints of the liver, and similar diseases which arise from drinking the brandied wines of Portugal in which the spirit is foreign. This is a remarkable fact.’†

‘Spirit drinkers are lean and lanky, winebibbers are unhealthily fat.’‡

In Dr. Thomson’s pamphlet are some valuable tables, designed to show the horrible effects of spirit drinking in the British army. England, in pursuance of her false notions of martial glory and extended empire, has not only sent her hardy sons to struggle against every variety of climate, but by teaching them to quaff daily large portions of ardent spirit, and by bountifully supplying them with the burning draught, she has consigned them by thousands to a premature grave.

‘The remarkable influence of the abridgment of the quantity of alcoholic fluids, in diminishing the occurrence of liver complaint in India, is strikingly exhibited in the following return from the Cameronian regiment in Bengal:—

Liver Complaints.		Consumption of Spirits.
1832	111	10,000 to 14,000 gallons.
1833	140	
1834	135	
1837	82	2,000 to 3,000 gallons.
1838	50	

‘The effect of diminishing alcoholic consumption upon the troops in Bengal, is clearly proved by the following table:—

1838	Temperance Society.	Remainder of Regi- ment.	Sick per cent. of the Society.	Sick remainder of Regi- ment per cent.
January	1953	2569	2.54	8.15
February	1840	2639	2.27	8.27
March	1542	2879	2.94	8.66
April	1359	3081	5.47	10.28
May	1282	3161	5.24	10.66
June	1364	3065	4.55	10.35
			3.65	10.20§

* Domestic Economy, vol. i. p. 285.

† Redding on Modern Wines, 2nd edition, p. 66.

‡ Digestion, p. 15. || Ibid. p. 18.

§ Quoted by Redding from the British and Foreign Medical Review, January, 1841.

‘To exhibit the effect upon the mortality of diminishing the employment of alcoholic fluids, it is only necessary to examine the following table of the troops in Bengal.

Consumption of Spirits.		Mortality.
1832 } 1833 } 1834 }	10,000 to 14,000 gallons	76
1837 } 1838 }	2,000 to 3,000 gallons	{ 26 22*

Dr. Thomson having thus demonstrated (assuming the correctness of his tables) the deadly influence of ardent spirits, as formerly used among the troops in India, is disposed to infer the injuriousness of all fermented drinks.

‘What the effect would have been if total abstinence had been resorted to, it is difficult to predict; but from this table (no. 2) we should be strongly inclined to infer, that sickness in India might be much further diminished if total abstinence were adopted.’†

In another page the author uses more unhesitating language.

‘Suppose a hundred individuals were to live on wholesome food, and abstain from all alcoholic fluids; and suppose another hundred, *cæteris paribus*, were to use stimulating drink, which of the two sets should we anticipate to be most healthy at the end of a given period? We do not believe that there would be two opinions on the subject.’‡

Dr. Thomson’s incredulity is unreasonable. Most assuredly there would be two opinions; and not a few would be found holding that opinion which Dr. Thomson repudiates. We confess ourselves to be among the number; and earnestly do we desire that the question should be carefully brought to the test of experiment. Were 200 men, living in the same place, following the same employment, of the same age, and in a good state of health, to be chosen and divided into two companies, one half of them taking nothing alcoholic, and the other half a moderate quantity of pure wine daily, we should, with much confidence, expect the balance of health and longevity to be in favour of the latter; and the more numerous and carefully collected the data from which the decision was obtained, the stronger should we expect that decision to be in favour of the temperate use of the fruit of the vine. Inasmuch as God, who knows us altogether, has represented wine as a great blessing, we cannot but think that its use is conducive to the improvement of both body and soul.

* Quoted from Forbes’ British and Foreign Medical Review, January, 1841, and India Journal of Medical Science, Nov. 1839.

† Digestion, p. 18. ‡ Digestion, p. 17.

It is a curious fact, that, while the population of the United Kingdom has been very rapidly on the increase, and drunkenness has abounded, the importation of wine shows no equivalent increase.

Consumption of Wine in England.

Year.	Population.	Imp. Gallons.
1700	5,475,000	4,935,420
1750	6,467,000	3,245,760 duties being raised.
1801	8,872,980	7,006,310
1811	10,163,676	5,860,874
1821	11,978,875	5,016,569
1832	13,889,675	6,386,687

The anachronism of measuring by the imperial gallon in the years 1700 and 1750, has been incurred in order to render the table intelligible at a glance. From that table it is evident that the people of England in 1700 drank twice as much wine in proportion to their numbers as they did in 1832. The use of spirits during the same interval grew with prodigious and terrific rapidity. From 1780 to 1830, the consumption of British made spirits increased from 873,840 to 7,732,100 gallons; and in the last named year, the fearful total of spirits home made, foreign, and colonial, for consumption in Great Britain and Ireland, was 27,719,999 gallons, being considerably more than a gallon a head for every man, woman, and child.*

It is estimated (says Mr. Baker) that in Britain alone there are no less than 600,000 drunkards. The members of temperance societies have been zealously employed, for some years past, in endeavouring to extirpate this enormous evil. With this end in view, they have set an example of self-denial, in abstaining from the use of all fermented drinks. They have boldly and kindly expostulated with the drunkard, urging him to refrain entirely from the tempting cup; and have let slip no opportunity of remonstrating, sometimes meekly and sometimes angrily, with those who hate drunkenness, but do not practise abstinence from all things intoxicating. That some of their leading principles, as expounded in the publications named above, are unsound; and that in the mode of carrying out those principles there has been *very* much cause for reprehension, is clear enough; but these faults must not lead us to close our eyes on what is good in the objects, exertions, and results of temperance societies. If the purpose to set free the enthralled inhabitants of the West Indies were a noble purpose, not less noble, surely, is the design of emancipating the not less numerous victims of a more debasing servitude. Honor to the men

* Redding, pp. 330, 401.

who, in pursuance of their philanthropic plans, have visited the villages and hamlets of our native land, and penetrated into the darkest and filthiest recesses of our crowded towns and cities, bearing on their lips the words of kindness, of virtue, and of hope. God never permits so large a measure of sincerity in a good cause, as these friends of humanity have exhibited, to be unattended with his blessing; although that sincerity may be, to a mournful degree, encumbered and alloyed by the errors and frailties pertaining to all things human.

The societies formed for the suppression of intemperance have not, perhaps, been more useful in the reformation of the vicious, than in exposing and correcting many of the erroneous notions and absurd customs of men, usually classed with the sober, if not temperate, part of the community.

It is no longer thought that water is a beverage to be taken only when a spirituous substitute cannot be procured; nor is it now doubted that it is possible, when men meet for the purposes of friendship or loyalty, to accomplish those purposes without getting drunk. Reason, and satire, and religion have been brought to bear on the sensuality which had connected almost all the pursuits of pleasure and of business with the habit of drinking; and it is now pretty generally believed that we do not show true hospitality to a neighbor by forcing him to drink when he is not thirsty, nor true kindness to a friend by compelling him to become a sot.

The 'Inquiries into the Effects of Fermented Liquors' are from the pen of Mr. Basil Montagu, and were first published nearly thirty years ago. This interesting pamphlet consists of a collection of the opinions of eminent men respecting the use of inebriating drinks, and is designed to discourage the use of them. It contains maxims and anecdotes, calm reasoning, allegory, and witticisms. It is an amusing book of extracts, with the additional recommendation of unity in its subject. A quotation is subjoined, which we may be allowed to call

A CARD OF INVITATION.

'SIR.—If you please to do me the favor to dine with me, I shall do my best to drink you out of your limbs and senses, to make you say a hundred silly things, and play the fool to purpose, if ever you did it in your life. And before we part, you shall be well prepared to tumble off your horse, to disoblige your coach, and make your family sick at the sight of you. And all this for an opportunity of showing with how much friendship and respect I am
*Your humble servant.**

Temperance societies have been very useful in fixing public attention on the adulteration practised in both malt liquors and

vinous. Some substances, indeed, which are added to malt and hops in the manufacture of beer, are probably as wholesome as either of those ingredients; and their introduction, therefore, or disuse, is entirely a question of taste or expense. Some of the ingredients of cheap wine also—cider for example—are not unwholesome. But it is notorious that many men (ungodly men they must be) have reaped large profits by mingling and vending noxious compounds, wherewith to deceive, if not poison, their fellow-creatures. It is more than time that such iniquitous practices brought down on the heads of all implicated in them the full weight of public reprobation. The wretches who will pander to their avarice by throwing India berry, bitter bean, nux vomica, and opium* into the beer which they sell to the public for a wholesome beverage, have no right to complain if they are loaded with the execrations of society. Wine, it would appear, is subject to a similar, though not, perhaps, equally deleterious adulteration.

Early in the last century a duty of £55 5s. 0d. per tun was laid on French wines; while Portuguese wines were admitted at £7 5s. 3d. a tun: and in the year 1756, a monopoly of the wine of Portugal was given to a company. The usual and inevitable results of such legislative folly ensued: and the English obtained, as the reward of their bounty, an article both dear and bad. The great demand thus created for the wines of Portugal brought into the market the whole produce of the vintage; slovenliness in the manufacture was encouraged by the absence of competition; and a similar character was given to every variety of wine, by the uniform and mischievous addition of a quantity of brandy sufficient to destroy the delicate qualities of the best, and conceal the coarseness of the worst. Under such management the produce of an unfavourable season realized about the same price as the produce of a good season; and the same wine has been shipped to England from Oporto at £40 a pipe, and to other countries at £20.†

* The Oporto Company know, what is so well known in France as to be a matter of complaint, namely, that a large quantity of inferior wine pays better than wine of the highest quality. The company, therefore, wished to bring down the fine scarcer growths, and raise up the poorer, and thus kept a medley of a very middling quality. Brandy was the best means of equalizing the two extremes. The wine could not be drunk until the vinous qualities were nearly all gone, and the brandy tamed down, and then the cheat passed off. In the richest country in the world, it is mortifying to discover that at every inn or tavern, where enormous prices are demanded for a bottle

* Library of Useful Knowledge, Art of Brewing, p. 31.

† Redding, pp. 217, 388.

of wine, nothing is to be met with, from the Land's-End to Caithness, but a coarse brandied product of the Oporto Company, which in any other region but this would be flung into the still.*

Before this company engrossed the trade, very little brandy was ever used; and if it be needful to add any, a couple of bottles to a pipe, when shipped, would answer every purpose of preservation: but to such an extent has this hurtful practice been carried, that from six to fifteen gallons, and even more, of brandy (and much of the brandy of Portugal is very bad) are often artificially mingled with a tun of wine. 'To get rid of 'this liquid fire, the wine must be kept a dozen years, and 'ruined in flavour, when it might be drunk in half the time by 'omitting the brandy.'† The downfall of Don Miguel gave the finishing stroke to this hateful monopoly, and restored the vineyards and wines to the free disposal of the cultivators. It is to be feared, however, that the bad habits engendered will not be speedily uprooted.

'In will be known by and by much more generally what good port wine is; the price must also come down to the consumer. This will be one advantage gained by the downfall of Don Miguel, and the routing out of the monks and friars of that part of the peninsula. May every similar monopoly be speedily swept away in all countries, at home as well as abroad, and true principles of commerce triumph!‡

A wish to which we add the heartiest amen.

The wines of Spain, which are of about the same natural strength as those of Portugal, have the advantage of being less adulterated with brandy: and the wines of France, which are now accessible to the people of England, (though far less so than is desirable,) have the three-fold advantage of being the most skillfully manufactured, the least spirituous, and the purest of all wines. Let not the reader, however, imagine, as some writers and lecturers on temperance would suggest, that almost all the strength of those wines which are not pure, is derived from the superadded spirit. The addition of alcohol is, indeed, on every account to be lamented, but it is by no means so great in amount when compared with the spirit produced by fermentation, as the zealous advocates of abstinence are apt to represent. Below are some items extracted from a table supplied by Mr. Brande.

	Pure alcohol per cent.
Sherry, average of four kinds . . .	19.17
Port, average of seven specimens . . .	22.96
Currant wine	20.55
Raisin wine, average of three specimens . . .	26.40

* Redding, p. 225.

† Ibid. p. 223.

‡ Ibid. p. 232.

The needless addition of spirit to wine is by no means the only adulteration practised: but by means of mixing a little good wine with much that is inferior, and by mingling cider and brandy with wine, other ingredients being thrown in to impart the requisite color, and sometimes the requisite flavor, a great quantity of spurious wine is produced, and palmed upon the people of England for the pure blood of the grape. The skill which has been attained in these illicit manipulations is almost incredible.

‘It is said that when George the Fourth was in the high and palmy days of early dissipation, he possessed a very small quantity of remarkably choice and scarce wine. The gentlemen of his suite, whose taste in wine was hardly second to their master’s, finding it had not been demanded, thought it was forgotten, and relishing its virtues, exhausted it almost to the last bottle, when they were surprised by the unexpected command that the wine should be forthcoming at an entertainment on the following day. Consternation was visible on their faces; a hope of escaping discovery hardly existed, when one of them, as a last resource, went off in haste to a noted wine brewer in the city, numbered among his acquaintance, and related his dilemma. ‘Have you any of the wine left for a specimen?’ said the adept; ‘O yes, there are a couple of bottles.’ ‘Well, then, send me one, and I will forward the necessary quantity in time, only tell me the latest moment it can be received, for it must be drank immediately.’ The wine was sent, the deception answered; the princely hilarity was disturbed by no discovery of the fictitious potation, and the manufacturer was thought a very clever fellow by his friends.’*

A recipe is subjoined for the manufacture of eight pipes of port.

	Imp. Gall.	£	Imp. Gall.	£.	s.	d.
2 Pipes of Beni Carlos . . .	230 at 38	per 115	cost 76	0	0	
2 Pipes of Figueras . . .	230	45	115	90	0	0
1½ Pipe of Red Cape . . .	137	32	91	48	3	6
1½ Pipe of Stout Good Port . .	165	76	115	109	0	10
1 Pipe of Common Port . . .	115	63	115	63	0	0
Mountain . . .	20	60	105	11	8	7
Brandy-cowe . . .	20	0	0	0	0	0
Coloring . . .	3	0	0	0	3	1
Etceteras: 2½lbs. of salt of tartar } and 3lbs. of gum dragon. }	0	0	0	0	4	0
Extra allowance for loss by bottoms				3	0	0
8 Pipes Port, 115 gall. each pipe	920 Imp. gall.			400	0	0†

The first six of the ingredients here mentioned are various kinds of wine: the brandy-cowe is the washings of brandy

* Redding, p. 324. † Quoted from ‘Wine and Spirit Adulterators Unmasked,’ by Redding, p. 339.

casks ; the coloring matter is extracted from German bilberries ; the salt of tartar is put in to make the mixture crust on the bottle ; and the gum dragon to impart a fulness of flavor and consistency of body, and to give the whole a face. The wine thus made up, if drawn off in bottles of the size of sixteen to the gallon, old measure, and adding a charge of 6d. per dozen extra for corks, would cost only 16s. 9d. per dozen !

Temperance societies, as they have directed general attention to those subjects of great public interest which we have referred to, have also set an example which christians would do well to imitate. The members of these societies, in their respective localities, have met often ; they have discussed their peculiar tenet, abstinence from all things intoxicating, and provoked one another to zeal and diligence. They have afterwards gone forth to proselyte their neighbors. There has been no shrinking back from an avowal of their opinions. They have gloried in them, and proclaimed them every where. Let christian churches imitate their example. Let their assemblies be freed from much of that formality by which now they are encumbered, and be more adapted than at present they are, to call into exercise whatever sympathies and talents each member may possess, that all may go forth resolved to do something in the common cause—and not only drunkards, but formalists, and fornicators, and thieves, and the profane, would become the subjects of a reformation, not partial but entire, not temporary but permanent. By the manner in which they have worked their half erroneous theory, the members of these novel institutions have shown us how we ought to carry out the doctrine of Christ ; and whenever this is done by believers honestly, humbly, and generally, the time of the world's regeneration will have come.

We had designed to expose and reprobate the arrogance and ignorance displayed by not a few of the advocates of total abstinence, especially with a reference to the popular work of Mr. Parsons. We are sorry to say that both the works mentioned at the head of this article, and bearing the name of that gentleman, and which he has protruded on the notice of the public with the loftiest pretensions, are utterly undeserving of the reception which one of them has met with. To this part of the subject the attention of the reader will be again invited, at no distant time.

Art. VIII. *The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell.* By ROBERT PHILIP. London : Snow. 1841.

FEW men were more widely known or more generally esteemed and beloved than the subject of these memoirs. His personal qualities were eminently adapted to awaken affection, whilst his sound judgment, unselfish zeal, and transparent integrity, commanded the confidence and respect of all who knew him. The charities of his heart were perpetually flowing out in acts of beneficence towards his species, and where his power was incapable of accomplishing the good he contemplated, his own philanthropy and christian zeal were apparent to all. He was just such a man as the church needed, and the labor he discharged will tell with increasing effect on the best interests of a large section of the human family. The simplicity of his character harmonized beautifully with the higher qualities which composed it, and lent a charm to his social intercourse which has rarely been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. With these views of Mr. Campbell's character, we were gratified to learn that it was in contemplation to publish his life and missionary enterprises : and now that Mr. Philip's volume is before us, we shall freely avail ourselves of its interesting details, in order to furnish our readers with a rapid sketch of the life of this estimable man. 'The volume,' as Mr. Philip remarks, 'is substantially from Mr. Campbell's own graphic pen.' Mr. Campbell thus details the considerations which induced him to commence a narrative of his life.

'I never intended to leave behind me the outlines of my life, or even materials from which one might be compiled. I do not recollect of such a thought being for a minute entertained in my mind ; which has surprised me ever since I have collected into a kind of focus a number of past occurrences.

'The first time the matter was brought under my review, was when, on a visit to Edinburgh three or four years ago, a judicious friend, and a companion of my youthful years, most seriously advised me to leave behind me a history of my life, as I had been a witness of all the circumstances which led to a *new era* in the kingdom of Christ in that country. Several other old friends urged me to the same purpose during that visit.

'About a year after my return to London, several London ministers urged upon me the same point ; merely, I thought, from their seeing some straggling papers of mine in the *Evangelical Magazine*.

'The matter began to wear a very formidable aspect ; for I had no written memorials of former occurrences. No doubt I had referred to many of them in letters I had written to friends during a long series of years ; but I had no copies of those letters, and perhaps many of

them were torn to pieces as waste paper. So I was left to recover the whole by dint of mere memory. I mentioned this to brother Philip, who had much experimental knowledge on the subject. He advised me to commence my narrative; and told me I should be surprised how one fact would lead to the accurate recollection of another. I began, and found it exactly as he had said. Many parts of the narrative refer to facts that happened more than forty years ago, and I am confident that they are more accurately recorded than if they had happened only a month ago.—pp. 3, 4.

His childhood and youth were spent in Edinburgh, where he resided with an uncle, 'a pious and judicious christian, who 'was an elder or deacon of the Relief Church.' His father died when very young, and his mother when he was only six years of age. It was, therefore, a providential circumstance that he was introduced into the house of an uncle, whose sense of religion afforded an effectual protection from many of the evils to which his young charge might otherwise have been exposed. It was not equally fortunate for him that he was sent to the High School of Edinburgh at the time when Nicoll, the boon-companion of Burns, was one of the masters. Young Campbell was committed to his charge, and, as might have been expected from such a teacher, did not make much progress in classical knowledge. His education was proceeding, however, in a manner far different from that which his uncle and tutors designed. Salisbury Crags were far more inviting to the young school-boy than Latin or Greek, and in playing the truant amongst them he probably nourished that love of adventure which characterized his more mature age. He himself was fully sensible of this, 'and was wont to tell with no small glee, that 'his uncle thought him an unpromising scholar, because he was 'fonder of rambling about the Salisbury Crags, or of building 'turf huts, like the Africans, in the garden. Good Mr. Bowers 'used to tell him, with a solemn shake of the head, 'Eh! John, 'John, thae will nae learnin go in nor come out of you.' The uncle was right so far as mere scholarship went, but there was a higher and a better education in which he was fast advancing, the good fruits of which will continue to be gathered to a distant period. The following sketch of a sabbath-day at his uncle's affords a pleasing insight into the character of that good man, and satisfactorily accounts for Mr. Campbell's intimate acquaintance with the word of God.

'We regularly attended Mr. Baine's ministry on the Lord's day, and the following was the manner in which every sabbath evening was spent at home.

'Immediately after tea, the whole family were assembled in uncle's room, viz., we three brothers, the female servant, and an apprentice.

Each was asked to tell the texts and what they remembered of the sermons they had heard during the day ; then a third part of the questions in the Shorter Catechism were asked, to which we repeated the answers in rotation. He then took one of the questions as it came in course, from which, off hand, he asked us a number of questions, for the trial of our knowledge and informing our judgments. The service was concluded by singing two verses of a psalm, and uncle offering a most pious prayer for a blessing on the evening exercises. From the variety that we attended to, we did not weary in the service ; indeed, I do not recollect one of us ever yawning during it. This way of keeping the sabbath deeply impressed us with its sanctity. Had I heard a boy whistle, or a man laugh loud, or overheard the sound of an instrument of music from a house, I was actually shocked. We were never permitted to cross the threshold of the door on the Lord's-day, except when going to worship. Some might conclude from all this that we must have been a gloomy, morose family, but the fact was the reverse. Uncle was a cheerful man, possessed peace of mind, and the prospect of a happy eternity ! He was a long time ill before he died, and for weeks before he expired his agony was almost intolerable ; his moanings were incessant night and day ; for years after his death I never heard the mourning of a dove but I was reminded of him. I do not know what his disease was, but I recollect hearing people call it, 'a burning at the heart.'—pp. 26, 27.

We are not surprised to learn that such an example had a beneficial influence on young Campbell and his two brothers. A few years after the uncle's death, he tells us, 'We all made a profession of faith in Jesus Christ by becoming members of a Presbyterian christian church, and by establishing regular worship in the family, morning and evening ; and each of the brothers taking his turn to officiate by rotation. On afterwards comparing notes together, we found that reflecting on the uniform consistent and upright conduct of our uncle led each of us to think seriously about the salvation of his own soul.' Such a fact may well encourage the parents and guardians of youth to persevere in well doing, however slight the present influence of their conduct may appear to be. We act for the future, and must be content to wait the season when the fruit of our labor shall be seen. Nothing is so powerful, especially with the youthful mind, as uniform consistency. Temporary excitement may produce its effects, but those effects are usually partial and evanescent. Not so, however, the silent, slow, and imperceptible influence which is exerted over the susceptible mind of youth by a steady continuance in well doing. Its impression deepens every day, and becomes at length so potent as to transform into its own spirit the young observers by whom it is witnessed. Mr. Campbell was, at this time, apprenticed to a goldsmith and jeweller, in Edinburgh, in which capacity he was once sent by his master to the theatre,

to bring home a jewel which had been borrowed by some of the actors. Never having been in a theatre before, he was shocked at the impiety which he witnessed, and preferring rather to pay for the trinket himself than continue throughout the evening in such a place, he returned home without having obtained it. Fortunately, however, for his finances, the jewel was returned on the following day, and the young goldsmith resolved never to enter a theatre again.

His mental conflicts were, for many years, of a very painful order. He struggled hard to obtain tranquillity by the frequency and length of his devotional exercises. 'I felt within me,' he says, 'a wandering, wicked heart, and resolved to root it out. I applied myself to this work with the utmost diligence. Night and day did I watch its motions, but the more I watched it the more wicked did it seem to become.' Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* was his frequent companion at this season; and its influence upon him was far from being advantageous. It led him to rest in what was outward and visible, and beclouded his views of the mode of a sinner's acceptance with God. 'By reading this book,' he says, 'I set upon a regular plan for obtaining eternal life, and strove with all my might to acquire the sentiments and feelings recommended by the author; but I either was, or thought I was, completely deficient; consequently I never got farther on in the book than that chapter where the author takes a solemn leave of the sinner who had not attained a certain degree in religion, and requests him to *return* again to the first chapter. I always considered myself the person alluded to, and consequently with fear and trembling obeyed the author's advice. The concern and anguish which brooded upon my mind in these seasons are indescribable.' Mr. Campbell remained in this state of mind for about two years, when clearer views and brighter hopes began to dawn upon him. We subjoin his own account of the change which he experienced at this period.

'My relief from this state of bondage was gradually effected by God increasing my knowledge of the revelation he had made of redemption through his Son, by the reading it, and the preaching of it by some of his faithful ministers, and through my becoming acquainted with established christians. I gradually perceived the suitableness of the Saviour's righteousness to answer all my exigencies, and in consequence I obtained, by degrees, considerable peace and hope. But I did not for years after perceive a crucified Saviour to be the *alone* ground of a sinner's hope before God. I did not see that hope in Christ alone produced and maintained evidences of grace, but thought it necessary first to search for the *evidences*, and then to proceed to hope in the atoning blood of Jesus, as a person entitled on this ground

to hope. Thus I placed a life of *sense* before a life of faith, instead of living by faith, in order to possess this sense of enjoyment. This gradually drew off my mind from looking unto Jesus, to pore continually on my own feelings. The consequence was extremely painful. When a good evidence appeared, then I was all joy ; but the moment it disappeared, I was all sorrow. In the one case, I thought God greatly loved me ; and in the other that He became my enemy : thus considering God to change with my inward feelings.'—p. 36.

As is intimated in this extract, it was not until some years afterwards that he obtained clear and simple views of the grounds of a sinner's hope. His mind was perplexed and led astray by some theological discussions which were then rife in Scotland. They served to confuse his mind, and to keep out of view the one scriptural basis of human hope. Looking in himself for 'tokens for good,' he made the liveliness of his feelings his warrant for trusting in God, and was in consequence perpetually subjected to fits of despondency most painful and detrimental. 'I must tell it to my shame,' he says in 1787, 'that I am often at a nonplus. I can take comfort from 'nothing—heart from nothing, till I perform something myself. I cannot look to God but as my enemy, who will have no 'mercy upon me until I perform some repentance or humiliation. This is surely the old covenant spirit.'

This state of things continued for several years, and the language occasionally employed in describing his feelings presents a fearful picture of mental agony. We might say much on this subject, but as the discussions out of which Mr. Campbell's perplexity in great part arose, have ceased to interest the public, we shall pass on to more attractive and useful matters. Mr. Philip has entered into it at considerable length, and has laid open the varying moods of Mr. Campbell's mind more fully, we think, than is either desirable or wise. He appears to have had some misgiving on this point himself, for after referring to the tranquillity and steadfastness which were subsequently attained, he remarks, 'But for this fact it would be more than questionable whether his paroxysms and vicissitudes ought to be told 'at such length.' It is an interesting fact noted by our author, that throughout the whole of the trying season which Mr. Campbell experienced, 'he never abandoned or abated public 'duty at all, or private devotion long.' At length the hour of his spiritual deliverance arrived. It was at once sudden and complete. He had long been preparing for it by the terrible ordeal through which he had passed, but when at length it came, it burst at once upon him with all the clearness and effulgence of perfect day. The operations of the divine Spirit are frequently carried on in a mode which human sagacity cannot trace. One after another the outworks of depravity are thrown

down, confusion and wretchedness for a season take possession of the mind, and every thing seems to indicate the approach of a crisis which wears only an alarming aspect. But when the crisis is passed, and the events which preceded it, as well as those which followed, are reviewed, it is seen that the storm was but the harbinger of peace, and that the deepest shade of that darkness which enwrap the soul, was but the appropriate precursor of the light and joy which God in his infinite mercy has shed down upon it. As in other departments of human knowledge, so in this. It is necessary we should see the whole to judge accurately of its parts. The sorrow and self-abasement—the self-reproach and deep prostration of soul which constitute the first indications of a divine renewal, must be associated with the peace, and joy, and full assurance of hope which are subsequently obtained, in order that they may be rightly estimated. Mr. Campbell's account of the way in which he obtained peace in believing is too interesting to be omitted.

‘Upon the evening of the twenty-sixth day of January, 1795, the Lord appeared as my *Deliverer*. He commanded, and darkness was turned into light. The cloud which covered the mercy-seat fled away! Jesus appeared as he is! My eyes were not turned inward but outward! The gospel was the glass in which I beheld him. When our Lord first visited Saul upon the highway, he knew in a moment that it was the Lord. So did I: such a change of views, feelings, and desires, suddenly took place in my mind, as none but the hand of an infinite Operator could produce. Formerly I had a secret fear that it was presumption in me to receive the great truths of the gospel; now there appeared no impediment—I beheld Jesus as the speaker in his word, and speaking to me. When he said, ‘Come,’ I found no difficulty in replying, ‘Yes, Lord! thy pardoned rebel comes.’ If not the grace of God, what else could effect such a marvellous change? I chiefly viewed the atonement of Jesus as of *infinite* value, as a price paid for my redemption, and cheerfully accepted by the Father. I saw love in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all harmonizing in pardoning and justifying me. The sight humbled and melted my soul. Looking to what I felt was no *help* to comfort; it came directly from God, through his word.

‘The following evening, about nine o'clock, while sitting before the fire, writing to a reverend friend, I had such a charming, surprising view of sovereign, pardoning, redeeming, unmerited mercy, that I was hardly able to bear it. The great doctrines of redemption, as stated in the Bible, opened to my view in a way I never experienced before. I beheld a crucified Jesus nigh me in the word; I threw away the pen, and turned about to see this great sight! I looked stedfastly to the Lamb suffering for me! So much was I overpowered with the magnitude of this discovery of eternal, boundless love and grace in Christ, that I felt a difficulty in breathing.

‘This view of my redeeming God in Christ completely swept away all the terrible horrors which had so long brooded over my mind, leaving not a wreck behind, but filling me with a joy and peace more than human—truly divine. I sat pensive, at one time beholding the pit from whence I was redeemed, at another the hope to which I was raised. My soul rushed out in wonder, love, and praise, emitted in language like this: ‘Wonderful mercy! why me? what is this? Thanks be to God who *giveth* me the victory through Jesus Christ, my Lord!’ Shuddering at sin, as pardoned; wondering that ever I could have been guilty of such transgressions, I continued sitting, wrapped up in silent wonder. For long after, when I thought of my hopes, I leaped for joy—I really had a glad heart. This visitation, also, created an extent of mildness and complacency in my temper that I never felt before. I felt a burning love rising in my heart to *all* the brethren in Christ; with a strong sympathy for all such as were not born of the Spirit. I earnestly breathed after their incorporation into the family of Christ.

‘A light shone upon the Scriptures quite new to me. Passages which formerly appeared hard to be understood, seemed plain as the A, B, C. Earthly crowns, sceptres, and thrones, appeared quite paltry in my eyes, and not worth desiring. I felt a complete contentment with my lot in life. I trembled to think of any abatement of my faith, love, and sensibility: it required resolution to be resigned to remain long in the world. Indeed I could scarce admit the idea of long life: I feared the trials and vicissitudes connected with it; but was completely silenced with that noble saying of our reigning Redeemer, ‘My grace is sufficient for thee.’ I saw I was fully warranted to mind the things of to-day; leaving the concerns of to-morrow to his wise disposal. I felt it easy to introduce spiritual conversation wherever I was, and to recommend Christ wherever I went. I saw that every thing acceptable to God, or comfortable to ourselves, was the product of divine power. I saw the folly and criminality of being too much in company, though composed of the best people in the world. I feel nothing more conducive to internal peace and prosperity than a regular, meek, even walk.’—pp. 109, 110.

Happily for himself his attention was now called off from his own frames and feelings, and was directed to that only Saviour who is the hope of a dying world. This is the great secret of religious peace, and was persevered in by Mr. Campbell through the whole of his subsequent life. At this period he belonged to the Church of Scotland, and there appeared to be no probability of his ever seceding from her communion. The subject is discussed in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Newton, which throws an interesting light on the character of that excellent man, as well as illustrates the progress of Mr. Campbell's mind.

The following is the only instance for which we can find space.

‘It would seem that Mr. Campbell had asked him the meaning of the Easter sacrament, in the Church of England; for he says, in 1795, ‘I smile at your not knowing the meaning of *Easter*.’ ‘The venerable Bede, writing in praise of a contemporary, thought himself bound in conscience to close with this censure,—‘But, poor mistaken man! he did not keep Easter in our way.’ I consider many modern disputes of the like importance.’ When Mr. Campbell understood Easter, he said, ‘The Scriptures are silent about commemorating the glorious event of Christ’s resurrection *once* a year; but instruct us to do so *fifty-two* times, or every sabbath.’ Mr. Newton had also commended the Prayer-book to him; not, of course, for the *brevity* of the service, but for the sublimity of certain parts. The truth of the latter recommendation Mr. Campbell felt; but said, in answer, ‘Does it not seem just not a little ludicrous, to imagine the apostles carrying a *baik* to pray by?’ Mr. Newton said, ‘Remember, we never touch this subject again.’ And they never did. They both acted wisely in this; for Mr. Campbell had the blood of the *Covenanters* in his veins, and Mr. Newton had been a dissenter. They thus knew each other’s secrets too well to push the argument to an issue. They did, however, discuss the general question of episcopacy occasionally; and so pointedly at onetime, in reference to the control of bishops over the clergy, that Mr. Newton could only prove his own freedom by his bishop’s heedlessness. ‘I can assure you,’ he wrote, ‘that however *strange* some may think it, I am glad, and have much cause to be thankful, that I am what and where I am. I think, with respect to man, *we* are properly the Independents. The bishops in England interfere with us no more than the bishops in Italy, except in requiring us to appear and answer to our *names*, once in three or four years.’ ‘No questions are asked, nor any fault found by our superiors.’ *Lett. A.D. 1795.* A queer compliment to the bench,—Mr. Campbell thought. Mr. Newton added, with more discrimination, ‘I am not very fond of either assemblies, synods, benches, or boards. Ministers are like flowers, which will preserve their color and scent much longer, if kept singly, than when packed together in a nosegay or posy. Then they quickly fade and corrupt. Their associations, in my judgment, should always be voluntary and free. There are ten or a dozen of us in London who frequently meet. We deliberate, ask and give advice, as occasions arise; but the sentiment of one, or even of the whole body, is not binding upon any. We hear what each person has to say, and then each judges and acts for himself. Thus, though we sometimes differ, we always agree, and live in harmony and love.’—pp. 229—231.

One of the earliest circumstances which tended to alienate his confidence from the Established Church was the promiscuous communion at the Lord’s Supper which it admitted. ‘It was contrary to my conscience,’ he says, ‘for I began to perceive from the Bible that a church of Christ,—the meaning of which I had never once thought of before,—was a society of believers, and not a visible mixture of his friends and enemies. But I did not see at the time how I could better myself. I

'saw some societies whose form I approved, but found them 'shut up from the fellowship of all christians except such as 'jumped with them in every minutia.' In this paragraph Mr. Campbell points out a perplexity which has been and still is experienced by many reflecting men, and which deserves more serious regard at the hands of dissenters than it has hitherto received. We perceive the radical unsoundness of a state church, but are far from presenting to the view of many pious episcopalians such a conformity to the spirit of Scripture exhortations as they desiderate. Sensible of the numerous deficiencies of their own church, they yet remain within her pale, in utter despair of finding a more perfect way. This may be erroneous and criminal ; it may be the result of prejudice, shortsightedness, or ignorance, but it becomes us to inquire, and that most seriously, whether there is not in some of our modes of procedure much that is adapted to occasion and foster such a feeling. A devout and searching inquiry directed to this point might possibly bring out a result which, however mortifying to our pride, would highly conduce to the extension of a voluntary christianity. The catholicity of the church is as essential to its prosperity as its purity, and Mr. Campbell was therefore right in refusing to join himself with those whose views were so sectarian as he describes. The fellowship of the saints is a *right* claimable by every believer, not a privilege to be conferred or withheld at the option of individuals or of a society.

His alienation from the Established Church was further promoted by some decisions of the General Assembly, which he thought to be indicative of an utter disregard to the spiritual interests of his countrymen. The truth is, that he belonged by natural disposition to the movement party. He came into public life just when evangelical religion was beginning to raise its head in Scotland, and sympathized heartily with its spirit and hallowed purpose. He was too active and zealous, too intent on doing good, and too skilful in devising new modes of accomplishing it, to confine himself within the prescribed limits of ecclesiastical rule. There was no affinity between the elements of his character and the cold, heartless formalism of a state church. Hence arose his estrangement, which, proceeding slowly and, in its earlier stages, unconsciously to himself, ultimately conducted him to those great principles of self-government and voluntary support which form the basis of our church polity.

Mr. Philip has furnished some interesting information respecting the apostolic labors of the Messrs. Haldane, Aikman, and Ewing, in most of which Mr. Campbell took an active part. These gentlemen, particularly the former, were prominent actors

in those religious movements which gave a new character to Scottish piety, by rendering it more evangelical and active than it had previously been. In Scotland, as in England, the state church, while preserving the forms of religion, had suffered its spirit wholly to evaporate. A spiritual lethargy prevailed throughout the land; the very nature of christianity was misapprehended; and formalism and ungodliness were substituted for the humbling and sanctifying faith of the gospel of Jesus Christ. In such circumstances, the Messrs. Haldane nobly consecrated their property and talents to the spiritual benefit of their countrymen. The rectitude of their intention is beyond all question, and that a large amount of good may be traced directly or indirectly to their exertions, is equally unquestionable. Yet truth compels the admission, that they were far from being thoroughly furnished for the work which they undertook. The history of their labors is full of warnings as well as of encouragement, and may be advantageously studied by all who are situated similarly to themselves. It is not our present province to enter into the particulars of their history. Let those dwell upon their errors who can find pleasure in such employ; we prefer rather pointing to the good of which they have been the honored instruments. The following is Mr. Campbell's account of one of the most important of the many measures which these gentlemen adopted for the spiritual benefit of their countrymen. The African scheme referred to was a proposal to bring over some negro children from the colony of Sierra Leone, to be educated in this country, with a view to their returning to Africa as instructors of others.

‘About a year and a half after this, I was invited by Mr. Haldane to meet a few excellent christians, who were to sup at his house. At one time there was a short pause in the conversation, when, I suppose, every one was thinking what topic he could start. A Mr. Alexander Pitcairn, who sat opposite to me, said, ‘Mr. C., what is become of your African scheme? I have not heard any thing of it for a long time.’ Not one present could possibly have imagined that the conversion and everlasting salvation of thousands was connected with Mr. P. asking that question. To which I replied, ‘It is put off to the peace!’ which created a general smile, as few expected peace till Buonaparte had got the world under his feet. Mr. Haldane asked, from the head of the table, *what* African scheme I had, never having heard of it? This I answered as briefly as I could, but added, ‘I had *another* scheme in my head, as important as the African one.’ ‘What is that?’ ‘To have a Tabernacle built in Edinburgh.’ ‘What is that?’ asked Mr. Haldane. ‘The Tabernacle in London is a large place of worship, supplied by popular ministers, of different denominations, coming up from the country, and preaching for a month. The crowds that it attracts, and the good that has been done, are very great.’ All agreed

that such a thing was desirable. 'Who could be got to supply it?' I mentioned Rowland Hill and other English ministers. 'Could a large place be obtained for a year on trial, before proceeding to building?' 'Yes, the use of the Circus may be got for sabbaths; as the Relief congregation, who have had it while their new place was building, are on the eve of leaving it. When I first proposed the Circus, Mr. Haldane turned to a certain lawyer who was present, saying, 'Mr. D., will you inquire about it to-morrow, and if it be to let, take it for a year?'

'It was secured the next day; Rowland Hill was invited; he consented to come; and did come in the month of May or June.—The place was crowded even at seven o'clock in the morning,—and in the evenings, if the weather was good, no place could have contained the crowds that came to hear; they mounted to near the summit of the Calton-hill, where there was a spot resembling an amphitheatre, as if excavated to hold a congregation of 10,000, which number I believe sometimes attended him. On one occasion he made a collection for the City Charity Workhouse. It amounted to about £30, almost entirely composed of halfpence and pennypieces. I think it was taken away in a wheelbarrow. During his stay many were converted, some of whom had been most grossly immoral characters. It made much noise in the neighborhood;—even some soldiers attended a prayer-meeting. A woman, at her own door, was overheard to say to her neighbor, 'O Sir, what will become of us now, when the very soldiers are beginning to pray?'—pp. 164, 165.

It was a singular fact, that not one of the persons present on this occasion was a dissenter. The movement was obviously of a dissenting character. It wore the complexion and breathed the spirit of a voluntary and energetic faith, yet it was taken by men who avowed their churchmanship, and never suspected that they were in a course of secession from the communion and authority of the kirk. The tendency of their measures was from the first seen by many, and could not long be concealed from themselves. Several Independent ministers were invited from England to supply the new place of worship, some of whom preached on the nature and constitution of the church of Christ, and thus diffused, among the persons meeting at the Circus, congregational views of church government, which led by a natural process to the formation of an Independent church, and the choice of Mr. James Haldane as pastor thereof. A large building, capable of containing upwards of 3000 hearers, was subsequently erected at the sole expense of Mr. Robert Haldane, who provided similar places at Glasgow, Dundee, and other large towns. The example thus set has been nobly followed in England by the treasurer of Highbury College, than whom there is not probably a man living who can point to larger and more useful results of the appropriation of his property. To Mr. Wilson belongs the distinguished

honor of having originated many churches which are now sanctifying their several localities, and contributing largely to the religious institutions which adorn and ennoble our times.

Mr. Campbell was at this time engaged in business as an ironmonger, yet his attention was incessantly given to the various schemes, both benevolent and religious, which were then soliciting public support. He was instant in season and out of season, and taxed his strength to a degree which alarmed many of his friends. His labors as a Sabbath-school teacher and itinerant preacher, were in themselves sufficient to occupy the whole time of an ordinary man, while the correspondence which he carried on with different persons eminent for piety and station, in various parts of the kingdom, must have required an economical arrangement of his time of which few men are capable. He accompanied Mr. James Haldane on several preaching excursions, which awakened the wrath of many clerical officials, and were regarded with great apprehension by a large portion of his countrymen. One stickler for holy orders was so scandalized at his presumption as to refer daily in family devotion to his preaching, in such a manner as caused an apprentice to laugh. The lad was expelled from his master's house on this account; and being reproved by his parents for the irreverence of which he had been guilty, replied, 'Hoo could I 'but laugh, when master prayed every sabbath mornin', that a 'red hot poker might be stuck into Johnnie Campbell's throat 'that day, if he presumed to minister in word or doctrine?' On one of his preaching excursions, both he and Mr. Haldane were arrested; but were speedily released,—the impotency of their opponents being only equalled by their malice.

Many of our readers are probably aware that Mr. Campbell was a voluminous writer for the young. He took the lead in this class of publications, and probably contributed more than any other man to the abundant supply with which the market is now stocked. The manner in which he was led to publish his first book for children was strikingly illustrative of the character of his mind; it grew out of the circumstances in which he was placed, and was designed to supply a want which he could not otherwise suitably meet. The facts of the case were these; he had a young cousin, Mary Campbell, committed to his care, whom he was desirous of directing to the profitable consideration of divine truth. For this purpose he put into her hands Janeway's *'Token for Children'*, the perusal of which rather alarmed than benefited her, by associating death, in her mind, with early piety. Having afterwards met with a pious address to children, he determined to ascertain, by a fair experiment on his young cousin, whether its length did not render it

unsuitable for the object which he contemplated. Mr. Campbell's own account of this matter is given in these words :

'One day, after dinner, I laid down my desk upon the table to write a letter, and desired her to sit forward to the table, and I should give her a nice book, published entirely for the sake of *young* people like herself. She took it into her hand with great pleasure, and began to read it with avidity. When she had turned over the second leaf, I saw she was surprised that there was not the end of a chapter in sight. She then turned the third leaf, evidently to see if there was an end there. On observing this, I said, 'Go on, Mary, it's very good.' After a little I saw her slyly turn over the fourth leaf, and seeing no end of a chapter, she raised up her arms above her head, saying, 'Am I obliged to read all this at one sitting?' I said, 'No, Mary, you may go to play.' She ran like a prisoner set free from bondage. I was satisfied that *long* addresses would be of no use to children, for God has evidently studied the taste of his creature in the Revelation he has given to them ; for almost the whole of it is given in the form of narrative, here a little instruction of one kind, and there a little of another, mixed up with the narrative. I therefore resolved to endeavor to convey to her young mind gospel truths, by mixing them up with short narrative.'—pp. 186, 187.

'On Mary going out to play, I commenced writing the first life in 'Worlds Displayed,' without the most distant idea of its ever appearing in print, and finished it that evening. Next day after dinner I desired Mary to stop, for I had something for her to read ; on which I put this life into her hand, and commenced writing at my desk, but, unknown to her, watching her conduct. She read to the end without once looking off the paper, and when done asked me if I had any more ? 'No,' said I, 'that is enough for one reading ; but if you behave well, you shall have such another to-morrow after dinner.' She asked for it next day, when I had the second life ready. We went on this way for some time, till at length I felt like a *cask* that once had been full, but now emptied of all its contents ; when I told her she must begin now and read them all over again. What gave rise to the *publishing* them I cannot now recollect ; perhaps it was her showing them to some of her acquaintance. However that was, an edition of 1500 was printed as a little volume, which, in boards, was sold at eightpence ; and so *hungry* were parents and others for something of a religious cast to present unto their children, that the whole edition went off in a very short time. I suppose such publications were equally scarce in America, for in about a year after 'Worlds Displayed' was published in Edinburgh, the venerable Dr. John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars parish, called and read me a letter that he had received from an old minister in Massachusetts, stating that my 'Worlds Displayed' had come out there, and a large edition had been published, and requesting Dr. Erskine to inform the author for his encouragement. Also a very short time after its publication in Edinburgh, I received a letter from a bookseller in London

wishing permission to print an edition of it there. I did not know till about ten years after, how it was so early noticed there; when I was invited to dine with Dr. Adam Clarke in a friend's house in London, who told me that he was the first introducer of the 'Worlds Displayed' to London. Though I have published many volumes since that time, I have heard more beneficial effects produced by that little *Tom Thumb* volume than by all the others put together. About twenty-five years ago I had eight gospel ministers, and more than that number of ministers' wives upon my list, who told me that their first serious impressions about religion arose from reading that book, and many more have told me the same tale since that time. How many editions it has gone through in Britain and America, I cannot tell, but the number must be considerable.—pp. 188, 189.

Mr. Campbell was in habits of intercourse with many persons much superior in station to himself, and the volume before us supplies interesting anecdotes of some of the more distinguished of them. The following, respecting Lord Hailes, is curious, and we should much like to see the accuracy of his lordship's statement tested.

'Another of Mr. Campbell's literary friends was the late Rev. Walter Buchanan, of Edinburgh; the friend of Lord Hailes. At his table, Mr. Campbell met some distinguished men, and gathered up many literary anecdotes. One of the latter deserves to be mentioned, because it had much influence in satisfying his own mind upon the perfection of the New Testament.

' ANECDOTE OF LORD HAILES.

'I remember distinctly an interesting anecdote referring to the late Sir David Dalrymple (better known to literary men abroad by his title of Lord Hailes), a Scotch judge. I had it from the late Rev. Walter Buchanan, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. I took such interest in it, that though it must be about fifty years ago since he told it, I think I can almost relate it in Mr. Buchanan's words.

' "I was dining some time ago with a literary party at old Mr. Abercrombie's (father of General Abercrombie who was slain in Egypt, at the head of the British army), and spending the evening together. A gentleman present put a question which puzzled the whole company. It was this: Supposing all the New Testaments in the world had been destroyed at the end of the third century, could their contents have been recovered from the writings of the three first centuries? The question was novel to all, and no one even hazarded a guess in answer to the inquiry.

' "About two months after this meeting, I received a note from Lord Hailes, inviting me to breakfast with him next morning. He had been of the party. During breakfast he asked me if I recollected the curious question about the possibility of recovering the contents of the New Testament from the writings of the three first centuries? 'I remember it well, and have thought of it often without being able to form any opinion or conjecture on the subject.'

‘ ‘ Well,’ said Lord Hailes, ‘ that question quite accorded with the turn or taste of my antiquarian mind. On returning home, as I knew I had all the writers of those centuries, I began immediately to collect them, that I might set to work on the arduous task as soon as possible.’ Pointing to a table covered with papers, he said, ‘ There have I been busy for these two months, searching for chapters, half chapters, and sentences of the New Testament, and have marked down what I have found, and where I have found it ; so that any person may examine and see for themselves. I have actually discovered the whole New Testament from those writings, except seven or eleven verses (I forget which), which satisfies me that I could discover them also. Now,’ said he, ‘ here was a way in which God concealed, or hid the treasure of his word, that Julian, the apostate emperor, and other enemies of Christ, who wished to extirpate the gospel from the world, never would have thought of ; and though they had, they never could have effected their destruction.’

‘ The labor in effecting this *feat* must have been immense ; for the gospels and epistles would not be divided into chapters and verses as they are now. Much must have been effected by the help of a concordance. And having been a judge for many years, a habit of minute investigation must have been formed in his mind.’

—pp. 214—216.

It is not surprising that Mr. Campbell should early have adverted to the christian ministry as his appropriate occupation. It is singular, however, that he regarded the first suggestion of this kind as a temptation from the Evil One. ‘ On sabbath last,’ he says, ‘ I encountered all day and night ‘ strong allurements from the adversary to follow the ministry. ‘ The suggestion increased so at night that I could not give ‘ heed to a sentence of the sermon. I had a desire to be useful ‘ to my brethren’s souls, but I gave the less heed to it because ‘ it interrupted my hearing of the word.’ It was well that he did so for a time, as he was obviously not yet qualified for such a work. Had he entered on it at this period, the result might have been ruinous to himself, and useless, at the least, to others. But the moral discipline to which he was subsequently subjected, brought his spirit into happy harmony with religious truth, and so controlled all the sympathies and energy of his nature as to fit him for eminent service to the church of God. The estimate formed of his piety and talents by those who had the best opportunities of observing them, were shown by the proposal which Mr. Haldane made to him, to proceed on a mission to Bengal. The proposition was favorably viewed by himself, but the opinion of his friends being adverse to its acceptance, it was ultimately declined. He determined, however, on relinquishing business, and devoting himself more entirely to the work of the ministry. The success he met with as a village preacher drew him on, step by step, until he found himself

involved in the serious consideration of what his duty was in the case. He was accustomed to speak of his public exercises, not as preaching but as exhorting. He did so in his communications with Mr. Newton, whose counsel he sought in this most important step of his life. The answer he received from this estimable man is too characteristic to be omitted.

‘I know not how you draw the line, in your country, between preaching and exhorting. If I speak when the door is open to all comers, I call it preaching; for to preach is to speak publicly. Speaking upon a text, or without one, makes no difference; at least, I think not.

‘I am no advocate for *self-sent* preachers at large; but when men whose character and abilities are approved by competent judges; whose motives are known to be pure, and whose labors are excited by the exigency of the occasion, lay themselves out to instruct the ignorant and rouse the careless; I think they deserve thanks and encouragement, instead of reprehension, if they step a little over the bounds of church order. If I had lived in Scotland, my ministry, I suppose, would have been in the Kirk, or the Relief, or the Secession; and if Dr. Erskine had been born and bred among us, and regarded according to his merit, he might perhaps have been archbishop of Canterbury long ago. Much of our differences of opinion on this head may, perhaps, be ascribed to the air we breathed and the milk we drank in infancy. Thus I have given you my free opinion upon your *knotty* point. I leave others to dispute whether the husk or the shell of the nut be the better of the two. I hope to be content with the kernel.

‘But whilst you have a secular calling, it is your duty to be active and accurate in it. Self likes to be employed in great matters—grace teaches us to do small and common things in a great spirit. When you are engaged in business in a right frame of mind, you are no less serving the Lord than when you are praying, exhorting, or hearing.’

—pp. 265, 266.

Convinced at length that it became him to devote himself wholly to the work of the sanctuary, he removed to Glasgow in order to avail himself of Mr. Ewing's instructions, preparatory to a more formal entrance on the sacred calling. He carried with him to the west of Scotland the same habits of active zeal by which he had been distinguished in Edinburgh; instead of confining himself to the dry routine of a student's life, he was perpetually employed in devising schemes of usefulness, which he carried out with an energy and perseverance that secured distinguished success. In connexion with his various labors at Glasgow, we have the following interesting account of a remarkable work of God, among a class of men who at that time were generally neglected by the christian church.

‘I remember a young woman calling on me, that I might answer a letter her mother had just received from her son. ‘At the time of

my father's death,' said she, 'my brother was a very thoughtless young man—instead of helping her, he sold every thing he could lay his hands on; after which, he left us, and became a sailor; he tells us, that afterwards he was pressed, and put on board the *Barfleur*, of ninety-eight guns; that some society had furnished him and others with a copy of the Scriptures, which he had carefully read, and had thereby been brought to a conviction of the sinfulness of his past conduct, and repentance for it; that he had besought, and hoped he had obtained God's forgiveness, but he could not have peace till he had obtained his mother's also, for the great wrongs he had done her; he also solicited her advice.' It was that I might fulfil this last request that she brought his letter to me. I wrote a letter containing the best counsels I could offer, and sent it off to him, on board the *Barfleur*, at that time lying in Cawsand Bay. In about a fortnight I received a letter from eight sailors, including himself, who had all been affected in the same way, by reading the word of God, and who often met together for reading and prayer; and they requested I should write a letter addressed to them all, as a united band, which I soon did, and sent off; but as the fleet had sailed on a cruise off the coast of France, I heard no more from them for perhaps three months, when a letter did come from twenty-four sailors, to which number the little band had increased during the interval; and these expressed a desire that I should address a general letter to the whole; and if there was any particular book I would wish them to have, that I would mention it in the letter. They also informed me that a similar work had taken place on board the *Thunderer*, and the *Terrible* of seventy-four guns. I did address a letter to twenty-four, and said, that if the fleet should happen to put into Portsmouth, if any of them would call on the Rev. Dr. Bogue, with my compliments, he would most readily do what he could for them, and knew of none more capable of giving advice.

'The peace with France, in 1802, took place a short time after sending off this, and a great part of the navy was paid off, and the seamen scattered in every direction; and I left Glasgow, so I never heard any more of the fruits of that charming display of the grace of God towards those poor sailors.'—pp. 273, 274.

His settlement at Kingsland, in 1803, was remarkably illustrative of the silent manner by which the Great Head of the church accomplishes his designs, in preparing the way for the more extended labors and greater usefulness of his servants. The station had no secular attractions, but it brought him into intimate contact with the religious institutions of the day, and opened the way for his subsequent visits to Africa, by which his name is become so thoroughly identified with one of the most interesting fields of modern missions. We need not dwell on this part of Mr. Campbell's life, as it is the one with which our readers are most familiar. He lived in perpetual activity,—an activity which was the very opposite of idle restlessness, for it resulted in his case from the entire consecration of his mind to

the paramount interests of religion and eternity. He was always active because he was supremely bent on doing good—because he combined with the utmost suavity and tenderness of spirit an entire self-forgetfulness and a hearty appreciation of the value of immortal souls.

His biographer has done wisely in including in the present volume a somewhat extended account of his missionary tours in Africa. These were the great events of his life, for which his other labors were but preparatory, and by which his name will be handed down to posterity as an agent of extensive usefulness to the church and to the world. We are glad also to find Mr. Philip speaking in such terms of warm-hearted and well merited eulogy of Dr. Philip,—one of those remarkable men whom God in his infinite goodness occasionally raises up to enlighten and bless their species. The few opportunities we have had of personal intercourse with Dr. Philip have left upon our minds an impression which we shall never lose—an impression which deepens with our advancing years, and becomes somewhat painful, as the passage of time reminds us of the approach of that period when his divine Master shall call him from the scene of his labors to the enjoyment of his eternal reward.

‘His hopes of a successful enterprise were much sustained by his confidence in the talents and discretion of Dr. Philip. It was to him a matter of *wonder*, as well as of delight and gratitude, that the doctor had consecrated himself to Africa; for Mr. Campbell knew and appreciated his influence in Aberdeen, and throughout the north of Scotland. Indeed, those who knew that influence best, wondered most. Some of Dr. Philip's intimate friends, however, knew the cast of his mind and the aspirations of his heart too well to believe that his object was bounded by any thing that lay upon the surface of his mission, or that the office of superintendent had swayed him at all. They did not venture to conjecture what his ultimate object was, nor are they yet sure that he has gained it all, much as his philosophy and philanthropy have won for Africa. The man who could achieve so much, certainly intended far more, and anticipated not a little of the result whilst deliberating upon the experiment. I do not pretend to any knowledge—I possess none—of the process by which he made up his mind to quit the most influential position which the north of Scotland could give to a minister; nor of the calculations he made, or the visions of glory he indulged for Africa; but having grown up from childhood under his paternal eye, and never spending a day uninfluenced by his maxims and example, I have never been surprised at either his choice or his achievements, although often alternately amused and grieved at the interpretations which some men put upon them. None know him so little as those who imagine that he would have gone to Africa, or any where else, in order to be ‘a *sort of bishop*,’ or merely to *superintend* missionaries. This is the last thing in the world he would submit to, in the sense in which these words have been

applied to his spirit. He would, indeed, wash the feet of any devoted missionary ; but he would no more condescend to be his master, than he would succumb to a passionate, or humour a capricious man. Accordingly no man has ever raised his own character, either for wisdom or independence, by railing at Dr. Philip's sway, or by arraigning his policy. That sway saved the missions which Vanderkemp and Campbell planted, and that policy annihilated slavery in the colony ; results which would have been defeated, had not the philanthropist braved alike the frowns of power and the freaks of passion.'—pp. 513, 514.

There was nothing remarkable in the latter part of Mr. Campbell's life ; it was devoted to the unostentatious and quiet discharge of his pastoral duties, and does not, therefore, furnish materials for, neither does it require at our hands, any extended notice. 'The history of the last twenty years of his life,' Mr. Philip remarks, 'apart from his letters, would only be the picture of any other minister in London, who combines pastoral duty with the claims of our public societies.' He declined the request of the directors of the London Mission to visit their stations in the South Seas, though he readily employed a considerable portion of his time in the advocacy of their institution in various parts of the country. He enjoyed remarkably good health until nearly seventy years of age, at which period a serious illness befell him, which alarmed his friends. Rest and change of air happily restored him to the church for a season, but his days were evidently numbered, and were drawing towards their close. He resumed his ministerial labors, but it was with diminished strength, and with less confidence in his own physical capabilities. 'Still his vivacity was not impaired, and his spirituality was, if possible, improved. If there was now less energy in his sermons and prayers, there was more unction, or rather, a new kind of unction. He had always been spiritually-minded, beyond most men ; but now he was heavenly-minded. Heaven and Africa were, alternately, the dwelling place of his spirit.' For some months prior to his decease, which occurred April 4th, 1840, his health evidently declined, without however assuming any alarming appearance until within a very few weeks of that event. The following account of his last illness, from the pen of his colleague and successor, presents just such a view of the state of his mind as the tenor of his life would have led us to anticipate.

'On Thursday, March 12th, he felt very ill, and wrote for advice to his medical friend, Dr. Conquest, who kindly and promptly attended to his request. He rallied a little before Sunday, and, although much pressed to remain at home, he attended public worship in the morning, fearing, he said, 'lest his flock should be alarmed about him.' That service was the last at which he was present.

'The following week his debility again returned, and gradually increased; and I believe he had then a kind of presentiment that he would not recover. I enjoyed many conversations with him during his illness, and noted down some of his expressions as he gave them utterance. They were indicative of extreme self-abasement, and humble reliance on the Saviour of sinners.

'I told him his people prayed very earnestly and affectionately for him. The tears came into his eyes, and he said, 'Oh, sir! I need it; I need it! I'm a *poor* creature.' He said his mind was much harassed by Satan, who told him he had not done *half* what he ought for his Master; and when I said, 'Depend upon it, sir, he would have been very glad if you had not done half what you have,' he replied, 'Ah! but I have not done what I *could*.' Such were the low views he entertained of his labors in the service of Christ. This harassment, however, which in a great measure was attributable to his infirm state of body, speedily ceased.

'On one occasion, speaking of the preciousness of the Saviour, he said, 'Oh! I love to be near the blood of sprinkling;' and talked in an animated manner of the happiness drawn from the consideration of the unchangeableness of Christ. 'All I want,' said he, after we had been speaking of the Saviour's atonement, 'is to feel my arm *round* the cross.' I told him I doubted not it was, and asked him if his heart was not there. He smiled, and said, 'Yes.' I told him then, that I believed his *arm* was too, although a little benumbed with grasping hard. He smiled again, and then spoke of the wonderful love of God in saving sinners by such a sacrifice as that of his Son.

'On Wednesday, April 1st, he took to his bed; and on my saying to him, when I visited him, that I hoped he was happy, he turned to me, and said, 'The *debt* is all paid; the sufferings of Christ have discharged it, and therefore I am free, and have peace with God.' From this time not a cloud obscured his mind. He steadily declined towards the grave, but nothing hung around his setting sun, or cast a shadow upon his hopes for the future.'—pp. 585, 586.

So calm and peaceful was the close of this good man's life; and we could well dwell upon the scene had we not already exceeded our limits. The claims of other subjects compel us briefly to dismiss the present, which we do with an expression of our most sincere and unsectarian admiration of the many virtues which constituted the character of Mr. Campbell. We love to dwell on the records of such a man. They serve to remind us that we are not all selfish and earthly,—that there is yet a grace and loveliness attaching to our nature, when that nature is renewed and sanctified by the Divine Spirit. Mr. Campbell's character was a beautiful compound of the simplicity of childhood with the enlarged philanthropy and holy bearing of christian devotedness.

Of the manner in which Mr. Philip has performed his task we must speak in terms of high commendation. He has produced

a volume which has rarely been surpassed in the interest and value of its contents ; one that must serve to enkindle zeal and to give it a wise and a useful direction. The materials furnished him have been happily arranged to exhibit a lucid view of the character and history of his friend, and the connecting observations by which he has worked up these materials, are distinguished for the most part by sound sense, healthy feeling, and a thoroughly evangelical spirit. There is a deficiency of chronological dates, which somewhat confuses the reader, and to which we crave Mr. Philip's attention in the event of a second edition of his book. There are also some cases of expression too familiar, and bordering somewhat on the vulgar, which he would do well to erase. We suppose it is in vain to counsel our author on the peculiarities of his style, as we have done so already on different occasions. He is apparently proof against all admonitions of this kind, which we regret on his own account, but still more so on account of the injurious influence it must have on his permanent usefulness. When an author combines so many excellencies, it is much to be deplored that the range of his influence should be limited by a style so essentially vicious. We say this with all possible good will, and with a due acknowledgment of the important service which Mr. Philip has rendered to religious truth by his numerous publications.

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- Art. IX. 1. *The Manchester Times*, August 21st, 1841.
 2. *The Morning Chronicle*, August 17th—23rd, 1841.
 3. *The Patriot*, August 19th and 23rd, 1841.

THE sneers and taunts of interested adversaries are allowed too much weight when they deter ministers of religion from seeming to be—what their Master was, and what he requires every servant of his to be—the friend of the poor. Not alone in words, but also in deeds, should they indicate their sympathy; and the time of need is the season when their friendship is most tried and valued. Christianity permits not its votaries to procrastinate in the discharge of any duty, and defers not till a future time the obligations of to-day. Promptitude and dispatch, as well as tears and professions, are enjoined by the highest and holiest authority: ‘whatsoever thy hand findeth ‘to do, do it with all thy might.’

But conventional courtesies and time-honored usages have sometimes imposed restraints, and held back men from mixing in indiscriminate or unprofessional enterprises. The *odium*

secularium, as well as the *odium theologicum*, has had its cant and deceptive strategy; and drawn its lines and demarcations across paths of benevolence and obligation, in which an enlightened view of duty should compel all Christians to walk. The bugbears which hypocrisy, indolence, and timidity have feigned or fancied, will only disappear before the light of truth and the importunities of mercy. The cloister and the grove are constrained to give up their tenants; the college hall and the monastic shade to resign their pretensions; ministerial etiquette and sacerdotal dignity to humble themselves, when the wailings of pestilence or the ravages of the plague, the lean and lank visage of famishing want, or the tumults and miseries of despair, threaten approaching desolations. It was thus that Aaron *ran* with his censer, to stand between the living and the dead, and that Moses *fell* before the Lord: and we regard it as an omen for good, that so many wise and benevolent men have, by their recent meeting at Manchester, shown themselves to be both inclined and able to discern the signs of the times. Mr. Baptist Noel has lent his sanction and assistance in this critical juncture, by the publication of his 'Plea for the Poor.' He has thus identified himself with the cause of the poor, and has contributed largely to the overthrow of those laws which operate so injuriously both on their social and moral interests.

Happily, this good man occupies no solitary position, and cherishes no singular opinions on the laws which affect the food and commerce of the people. This has been strikingly shown by the ministerial conference recently held in Manchester;—a conference so singular in its character, so unique and noble-minded in its object, as to have riveted the attention of the nation, and to have revived the hopes of thousands who were previously sunk into the wretchedness of despondency and want.

THIS CONFERENCE, convoked on the 17th of last month in Manchester, and continued till the evening of the 20th, is a movement eminently deserving the attention of senators and politicians. It has been a medium for the expression of public opinion, unusual but singularly appropriate for such a time. Six hundred and thirty-six ministers of religion have, by their presence, in answer to an appeal issued without any authority but the wail of woe, and promising no other reward but the blessing of charity, testified to their people and the world how their sympathies and affections are blended in unison with the suffering and heart-stricken poor. Nearly one hundred more were prevented from fulfilling the like duty, to which they had pledged themselves, by events which they could not control; and eight hundred others have declared their concurrence with the object of the meeting, though prevented by their limited pecuniary means from attending its sittings. Thus, more than fifteen

hundred ministers of religion, occupying distant fields of labor, have spoken out their determination to overturn the odious system under which poverty is diffused, commerce prostrated, and moral dignity and social justice are abused before the nations of the earth. The venerable and learned Dr. Pye Smith, in his address at the conference, spoke not alone in the name of the brethren then assembled. His statements and reasonings were not the empty declamations of a demagogue, but the calm, lucid, and immutable convictions of an honest mind, powerfully alive to the momentous interests which are involved in the subject under discussion. It would be well for all to give serious heed to his reasonings and expostulations, which breathed a spirit of the purest benevolence, whilst they bore with conclusive point on the eradication of an evil which finds its only semblance of justification in the pecuniary benefit it yields to the richer and privileged class. We should be glad to extract largely from the Doctor's admirable speech, but must restrict ourselves to the following:

‘We do not flatter ourselves that our efforts can at once eradicate the prejudices and errors which are the growth of ages, or that we unaided can effect this desirable conviction in minds reluctant and inveterate. But these principles of morality are a part of ‘the whole counsel of God,’ which we are bound to teach, if we would be ‘faithful ministers of Christ.’ If we be supine and silent, we shall be partakers of the guilt of the evil that is so fearfully done; and we shall be answerable at the tribunal of God for its consequences. Some of those consequences, long foreseen and forewarned, have burst upon us in a manner, as to rapidity and extent, which may fill the stoutest heart with grief and fear. Are we not then called upon, by our most solemn obligations, to oppose the evil which threatens to destroy us, and to promote the good which is so instrumental of temporal and spiritual benefit? The feelings which are now awakened, the attention which is widely excited, encourage our hopes. An opportunity is given for enforcing this branch of evangelical morals, with prospects of attention and success greater than we have before possessed. What we have taught and inculcated in our own small circles, we hope, by means of this meeting, to lay before our countrymen in a way that will draw their more serious attention, and more effectually recommend the truth to their understandings and their hearts. Some persons may object, that this and its allied subjects belong to the science of politics and political economy, and that it is not befitting to the ministers of religion to give opinions or advice upon them. Against the spirit of this objection I enter my determined protest. It can be advanced by only ignorance or unfairness. What are politics, but the knowledge and practice of the claims of *right* and the obligations of *duty* which belong to men as members of society? Is not this knowledge and practice an essential part of morality? And is there, can there be, any religion without morality? As teachers of religion, therefore, we are bound

to be teachers of politics, and to guard the important subject against errors and abuses. Our object is to teach the politics which flow from piety, the politics of equitable benevolence, the politics of the gospel, the politics of Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Lord. We are deeply concerned that we and those to whom we minister should 'render to all their due ; putting to silence the ignorance of foolish men ; as free, and not using our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.' We are most earnest to guard all persons, to the utmost of our power, against sedition, treason, rebellion, in any manner of degree, approach, or tendency. Be it also considered, that, while the people have their duties, they have also their claims, just and honorable claims ; and that, if these be neglected, 'the cries of the poor ascend' to the Just and Almighty One, who 'will plead their cause.' Also, to borrow the memorable admonition of a lamented Christian statesman—'property and rank have their rights, but they have likewise their duties.' To the higher classes, therefore, even to the highest, we 'have a message from God.' But few of them will give us the opportunity of delivering it. They come not to our places of Christian worship ; nor will they allow us to go to them, and tell them of 'justice, temperance, and the judgment to come.' Therefore, if we except writing and publishing, an extraordinary measure, like this assembly, is the only method left for our endeavoring to make the word of the Lord be heard in high places, as well as in low ; in towers and palaces, and in the pits and cellars where want and woe, disease and death, and many a form of misery, have fixed their dwelling. It is the violation of religious obligation, by our laws and law-makers, which, working through a course of years, has at length come to a term. Those laws have now reached to an amount of oppression, injury, and aggravated cruelty, which can no longer be endured. The alternative is the abrogation of the iniquity, or the ruin of the nation. Wise and honest men, versed in the inseparable means of public prosperity, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have long foretold this crisis. It has arrived. It brings in its train of terror bodily diseases which will not be confined to the hovel, but will spread over the land, and will mount to the most splendid mansions. A state of freedom from the extreme of misery is ordinarily necessary for the calm reflections and the exercises of piety ; but that state is destroyed by hunger and destitution, winter's keen cold, which soon will arrive, famished families, and 'the first-born of death.' Desperation is engendered. The burning discontent cannot be always smothered. We are walking on the fires below. They threaten eruptions. Then will military execution renew its horrors ; and the terrible catastrophe will befall us of a revolutionary anarchy, or a stern, revengeful, and unsparing tyranny. Ah ! how little do the men reflect who have snatched the morsel of hope from the lips of the famishing millions, what retribution they have been preparing for themselves ! In the event of a national convulsion (which Almighty mercy avert !) they will be among the first victims of infuriated revenge. In the righteous judgment of God, often one terrible form of sin is the instrument of punishment to another.'

In passing we must notice briefly the opposition which this ministerial assemblage has encountered. That the journals pandering for party purposes to the diseased appetite or the ignorant prejudices of a class should, by scurrilous jests and ignoble ribaldry, seek to throw ridicule on the conference has not surprised us : nor has this opposition been without its use. The *Times* and other organs have fulfilled the behests of their masters, but more propitious would it have been for monopoly, had the alleged imbecilities and heterogeneous conceptions of the assembled ministers been passed over in silence. The *Times* does not often expend its energies upon a contemptible antagonist, or direct its thunders against a molehill. Its conductors have usually more sagacity. The *Spectator* has been a more insidious foe; its *beau ideal*, for the last four years, a conservative ministry, had interests to be promoted which could only be served by throwing odium on any thing practically good, and identifying wise measures with men who are charged as backsliders. But this service could be best rendered under the guise of radical hostility,—not by a disappointed place hunter, but by a *faithful* and *vigilant* guardian of popular liberty. We leave him to his reward, when it comes. But others have more than surprised us by their morbid sensibility respecting all political movements by ministers of religion. This cry of alarm has been raised by honest and seemingly zealous opponents of monopoly. Mr. Wicksteed of Leeds has acquired some celebrity in this character. He has played off his wit or his wisdom as well against the corn laws as against the ministerial conference; and has rather out-witted the monopolists; since his letter has obtained insertion where discussions on corn monopolies are generally excluded. He has, moreover, shown the necessity, which is felt by many, to acquit themselves of all approval of the laws which restrict the food of the people. We need not enter the lists with him on his *abstract* questions. He has been fully answered by Mr. Hamilton of Leeds, and in some powerful articles in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Patriot*. But we wish to present the excellent and convincing reply of one whom circumstances only detained from the conference, and whose counsels there would have been appreciated, as his name is had in honor throughout the land. Dr. Wardlaw, in his letter to Mr. Massie, has fully acquitted the conference of improper interference. He answers the charge of political agitation well.

‘ I should deeply feel, however, that great injustice was done me, were my absence suspected to arise from any indifference respecting the great object of the proposed convention. It is not so. It is far, very far otherwise. Some of my brethren call it a *political* question, and

object to a ministerial convention respecting it on this ground. *That* should not frighten me. Admitting it to be a question of political legislation, I cannot, on that account, regard it as the less a question of *humanity*. Granting it to be a problem of *political* economy, I dare not allow myself to forget, to what a vast extent it is a question of *domestic* economy, most seriously and fearfully affecting the condition of myriads of families, and the families too of those who must ever be the staple of a commercial nation's strength and prosperity. In such a view of it, it can never be out of the legitimate sphere of the servants of that Saviour who, while the great end of his mission was 'to seek and to save the lost,' manifested, in the fulfilling of that commission, so benevolent a concern for the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of a sinful and suffering world; the one in such harmonious and beautiful *keeping* with the other. And why should the political aspect of the question overpower the interest which, as ministers of the gospel, we ought to feel in it a question of humanity? Politics themselves are a branch of *ethics*. Properly viewed, they are the *morals of nations*. They affect the character and the well-being of the world. Indifference to politics, in this view of them, is indifference to their *results*—peace or war—plenty or starvation—virtue or vice—prosperity or declension—security to person, property, and life, or the jeopardy of them all. Surely such indifference cannot be a feature of character which the bible requires, either in christian man or in christian minister. I am no meddler with politics. But my simple reason is, that in doing what I can to diffuse the influence of bible truth, and co-operating with fellow-christians and fellow ministers in the endeavour to leaven the community with its influence, I am doing what I conceive to be my proper part in promoting and ensuring rectitude of principle in the management of public affairs;—not that I regard the management of public affairs as a matter with which, as a minister of the cross, I have no concern. Although holding the essential distinction between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdoms of this world, I yet believe and am sure, that the spread and prevalence of the principles of the one are the best security for the application of right principles in conducting the affairs of the other.'

It was accounted no easy matter to bring together ministers of all religious denominations. They live, it was said, in different worlds—they revolve in different orbits. Their modes of faith have broad demarcations and stern collisions. Even as against the laity they have no common interest. They are more closely tied to their several churches than to their class. The notion of calling them together was a bold conception. So thought one of the gentlemen invited, but who was 'compelled to decline by 'the terms of the printed address convening the assembly.' The Rev. Hugh M'Neil, thus replied, 'In what you call our sectarian 'differences are involved all the eternal truths of the christian 'religion; truths from which *alone* can emanate any thing deserving the name of christian charity. To admit the possibility of

‘meeting on the ground of *christian* charity without reference to ‘christian truth—nay, on the express condition of laying aside ‘for a while all that many among us consider to be God’s own ‘word would, in my opinion, be to countenance the infidel ‘liberalism which implies that revelation is useless, without having the honest boldness to say so.’ Yet since the charity which christianity enjoins is a virtue commendable whenever it is exercised, and is no less obligatory where revelation has been rejected, than where a high pretension to its sanctions is assumed: since it is only then in legitimate exercise when it ‘seeketh not ‘its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not ‘in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth’—where can so appropriate a sphere be sought for its display as where the hungry are to be fed, the naked to be clothed, and the fatherless and the widows are to be visited in their affliction? The contemplation of such a work, and the impulse of so hallowed a motive, sufficed to suggest and call out the energies by which this conference was convoked. No lower considerations could have been congenial with the prayers and precepts of the gospel, and no stronger inducements could be derived than are presented by the condition of a bread-taxed people. We therefore join in the generous exclamation—‘What can be feared from this precedent of ‘mercy? It rises above the sphere of dogma into that of charity, ‘and breathes a purer air, while it occupies a loftier position. ‘May such be the synods of futurity whenever they are held!’ Laymen have had reason to be jealous of convocations, but they cannot refuse to honor the men who as ministers of religion gathered in the cause of humanity. The majesty of heaven is insulted, the first laws of nature are violently and *legally* set aside; while injustice, in its most cruel wrongs, is meted out to the creatures of God by men who loudly boast of their religion. ‘Bread tax,’ it has been said, ‘is a blight on the world’s harvests. *It* is the blast and the shower that level with the ‘ground the poor laborer’s hopes. Monopoly diminishes crops, ‘and prevents harvests. Nature allows the cultivators of a distant soil to grow corn for the operative here; their interest ‘prompts them to do it; but monopoly forbids. It creates an ‘artificial barrenness there, and a corresponding artificial scarcity here. To pray against rain, and not act against monopoly, is ‘to serve heaven in word and insult heaven in deed. On the ‘ministers of religion it devolved to vindicate her name from ‘this profanity.’ But the moral influences of the corn-laws remained to be developed, and the evidence of their operation arranged and displayed. With the ministers of religion are found peculiar facilities for such purposes; they see much more clearly into such arcana than mill-owners or landlords. The physical pressure on the industrious, and the moral alienations

to which that pressure impels, are subjects of their daily contact, and the occasions of constant apprehension and solicitude. To borrow the *ipsissima verba* of the eloquent writer who so well reasoned this question in the *Morning Chronicle*—

‘ They can trace the agency of the system from the enhanced rents of the duke to the enforced crimes of the destitute. They can note how the prohibitory duty is levied on kindly feelings and moral culture. It has been seen before ‘ how wretches hang that jurymen may dine ;’ but they have seen how wretches are made that mortgages may not be foreclosed. The slave-trade received its death blow by the exposition of the horrors of the middle passage. Let those who are qualified explain in detail to the world the foul and fearful scenes enacted in the slave-ship of monopoly, by those who, if they do not traffic in man, yet extort their gains from the daily bread by which heaven wills that man should live.

‘ A wasteful cupidity robs the industrious population of many millions, to pocket its gain of thousands. A powerful class abuses the sacred function of legislation to tax the helpless, and perpetrate injustice by the forms of law. The party obligation of defending iniquitous privilege generates sophistry and misrepresentation, and perverts the minds that should enlighten and instruct public opinion. Religion incurs odium by the interest of its established teachers in a tax on bread. The poor man has less work, lower wages, and a smaller loaf ; all bitter streams from the same fountain. A gulf yawns in society, which only curses and threats can overpass. The few are demoralized by power and selfishness ; and the many, by helplessness, vindictiveness, and desperation. Class is alienated from class, and country from country. If this be not a moral and religious question, what is ? What voice so fit to rebuke these growing evils as that which once preached of righteousness till the sordid oppressor trembled ? What topic so apt to unite the exertions of those who preach ‘ peace on earth,’ as that which, until settled, forbids all peace, and tramples upon all bonds of society except brute coercion ? Not by irregular and isolated efforts, but by one strong and united appeal does it become the ministers of religion to denounce this most irreligious state of things, and stay the plague. In their combination they have a moral power far greater than the mere multiplication of their individual influence. The spirit of providence speaks through them, and promises an answer to the prayer for daily bread.’

The moral phenomenon, at once unique and imposing, presented by this ministerial convocation, is now a matter of record, and will become a subject of history. A great experiment, hazardous in the esteem of some and obnoxious in the apprehension of others, has been tried and found practicable. Coming together, not to define doctrinal mysteries, to enforce speculations, enact ceremonies, or promulgate creeds, but to expose and denounce oppressive laws, and plead for the poor and the needy ; and having for their object justice and charity,

the members of it have discharged their solemn trust, and maintained the character of their convention to be 'christian in the broadest and most practical sense of the word, christian in the most christian sense.'

The proceedings of the conference are not yet before the world with such detail as warrant those who did not mingle in its discussions to pronounce a final judgment on the conclusions arrived at. Yet we cannot defer, beyond the present moment, a few statements. When the official report appears, an opportunity may arise for further discussion. A judgment cannot be maturely formed merely from the fact that upwards of 600 ministers of religion assembled, and that 800 more would have joined them but for financial obstructions; neither can we sufficiently appreciate the case of our country from the *viva voce* statements of the assembled ministers. Five hundred returns have been made by benevolent men who have explored their own locality, solicited the information of poor law guardians, or their clerks, examined the condition and elicited the opinions of the poor and suffering children of want, and the *private* feelings of the hungry and emaciated laborer. These documents speak solemnly and fearfully to the heart of the patriot and christian, and are adapted to awaken apprehensions which may well make the calmest mind to tremble. They unveil a picture of destitution and wretchedness which cannot long consist with the peace of society, and open up scenes of moral degradation which reflect a character of the grossest impiety on the system from which they spring. The evils thus disclosed are too wide spread, and too deep seated, to admit of removal by any partial remedy; neither will they admit of any delay, for their virulence increases every hour, and threatens, unless instantly eradicated, to corrupt and ruin the great mass of our working population. We look forward to the publication of the evidence thus collected, as of great importance to the future progress of this good cause, and shall take the earliest opportunity which occurs after its appearance, of directing to it the attention of our readers.

It may be useful that we present a brief epitome of the proceedings at Manchester during the conference. Some of the most zealous friends of the movement were prevented by personal or relative indisposition from attending: such were Drs. Leifchild, Reed, and Wardlaw. Others by engagements which they could not supersede, or circumstances which they had not anticipated. Drs. Raffles, Campbell, and Harris were absent from no hostility on their parts; and very many others who were confidently expected, and who most heartily sympathized with their brethren, were prevented from giving their attendance. The members of the conference, which was held in the

in the Town Hall, Manchester, were admitted by ticket, and were placed in the body of the large hall so as to have easy access to the platform, and presented an imposing and august appearance. No assembly of senators could more command the attention and admiration of the spectator. The conference opened its sittings on Tuesday the 17th, at ten o'clock. Dr. Cox being called temporarily to the chair, a provisional committee was appointed to nominate chairmen, committee, and secretaries. During their absence, the question of prayer was started, and Dr. Vaughan requested to lead the devotion of the assembled ministers. A difficulty connected with this subject had been felt by the preliminary committee, and it was afterward revived when the chair was taken for the day. The decision adopted by the conference left individual ministers to follow the course deemed by them most appropriate. Such deference seemed advisable from the variety of denominations assembled. Several Quakers, about twelve Roman Catholic priests, and twenty-five Unitarian ministers, a few Swedenborgian ministers, and more than twelve Methodist Association preachers, between twenty and thirty New Connexion Methodists, nearly fifty Scotch Presbyterian Dissenters, two hundred Baptists, and three hundred Independent ministers, besides a small number of clergymen of the established churches of England and Scotland, were present. The provisional committee reported the result of their consultations, and the following list of office-bearers was proposed and adopted.

PRESIDENTS OF THE FOUR DAYS.

Tuesday—Rev. Thomas Adkins, of Southampton.

Wednesday—Rev. William Chaplin, of Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire.

Thursday—Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D., D.D., of Hackney.

Friday—Rev. Thomas Spencer, A.M., of Hinton, Bath.

SECRETARIES.

Rev. J. W. Massie, M.R.I.A., Salford.

Rev. William M'Kerrow, Manchester.

Rev. Richard Fletcher, Manchester.

Rev. William Bevan, Liverpool.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

This general or executive committee is composed of all the ministers named in the four following

SUB-COMMITTEES.

Sub-committee of Resolutions, to prepare propositions, motions, addresses, &c. :—The Revs. Richard Fletcher, Manchester (secretary); Thomas Scales, Leeds; J. Acworth, Bradford, Yorkshire; J. Kelly, Liverpool.

Sub-committee to communicate with gentlemen of the press, to conduct the publication, &c.:—The Revs. J. W. Massie, Manchester (secretary); Dr. Clunie, Manchester; John M'Farlane, Glasgow; J. Carlisle, London; T. G. Lee, Manchester.

Sub-committee of Documents, Statistics, &c.:—The Revs. W. M'Kerrow, Manchester (secretary); J. Gwyther, ditto; Dr. Payne, Exeter; A. Harvey, Glasgow; J. Robertson, Edinburgh; A. Baird, Paisley; J. Burder, Stroud; T. Thomas, Pontypool; J. C. Miall, Bradford.

Sub-committee of Executive, to whom shall be referred all matters of difficulty arising during the sittings of the conference:—The Revs. J. W. Massie, Manchester (secretary); W. Shuttleworth, J. L. Poore, J. Thornton, J. Griffin, Francis Beardsall.

The business was opened by the Rev. T. Adkins, of Southampton, in an address which elicited marked approbation, when the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith followed in a speech which we have already characterized, and to which we cannot too pointedly direct the attention of our readers.

The preliminary arrangements which had been made by the Manchester ministers, and the motives by which they had been actuated, were detailed by the Rev. J. W. Massie, from whose speech we had intended to extract largely, but that the crowded state of our pages forbid.

The afternoon of Tuesday was employed in addresses on the general questions involved in the corn-laws. Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., was admitted as a deputation from the Anti-Corn Law League, and, as counsel for the cause, stated the question to the conference in an eloquent and forcible manner, exposed the injustice and injurious nature of the restrictive laws, which oppress the poor and are driving the country to the eve of ruin. The impression which he produced was a strong conviction of the impolicy and cruelty of all enactments which prevent free trade in the food of the people, and an earnest desire that they should be speedily and entirely abrogated. The Rev. T. East, of Birmingham; T. Spencer, of Hinton; J. Sibree, of Coventry; A. Baird, Moderator of the Secession Synod; and ten other ministers from Sussex, Sheffield, Manchester, Forfar, Yorkshire, Wales, Leicester, and Nottingham, delivered to the convention speeches teeming with facts regarding the poor of the most thrilling interest. The feelings of the conference were excited and deeply agitated by disclosures of the poverty and wretchedness which the several speakers, as eye-witnesses, made; not a few were overwhelmed in sorrow, and with tears of sympathy evinced the effect of these disclosures. Toward the close of the sitting it was ascertained that the Earl Ducie was

present, and when requested by the chairman to address the conference he frankly complied.

‘I came here,’ remarked his Lordship, ‘for the purpose of learning, and not of teaching. I came to hear from the mouths of those who may be supposed to be the best judges, because they have seen most of the misery of the laboring population. . . . I have for many years been of opinion, that the corn laws as they exist are extremely oppressive to the laboring population, and injurious to every branch of society. Had I been a monopolist—had I been one of those who had voted for charging an additional price on the bread of the poor man, I am quite sure that the testimony laid before you to-day by the reverend gentlemen who have spoken, would have been enough to persuade me that I had been in the wrong; it would have been enough to persuade me that I should retract those opinions. But my opinions have been always those good old-fashioned whig opinions, that that government was the best which gave the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number of its subjects. I am satisfied that the present corn laws are not acting in that way. Gentlemen, I am aware that discussions on the corn laws, and on the general principles of freedom of commerce, are looked upon by many as a merely political, or rather I should say an entirely party question. But I look on the question in a very different point of view. It is not in my mind a question whether Lord Melbourne should preside over the government of the country, or whether Sir Robert Peel should preside over its interests; but it is a question deeply involving the morality of our population. I believe that to take an active part in the suppression or alteration of the existing corn laws is to do much towards education—towards increasing morality and the spread of religious instruction throughout the land. These are the motives by which I am guided in the line of conduct which I shall pursue as regards the corn laws; and, although the party with which I shall most probably vote in the house in a few days will be but small, I shall then see those on whom you may depend. It gave me the greatest pleasure to hear the Rev. Mr. Spencer speak in the way he did of Lord Radnor, than whom there is no man to whom the country owes a deeper debt. He, with the Earl Fitzwilliam, are not actuated by party spirit—their support of the ministerial project is founded on the purest of grounds. I know they feel as you all feel—as all the ministers of religion whom I have listened to with so much pleasure to-day—that the happiness, and moral position, and religious instruction of the community, depend much on the corn law question. As regards what I have heard to-day, there are many arguments used by the opponents of this question—though, indeed, in parliament I have heard but two—one of them the fallacy regarding wages, and the second, which is equally false, is, that much land will be thrown out of cultivation if the corn laws be repealed. Indeed, it was boldly stated, that one-third of the land of this country would be thrown out of cultivation. I have been for many years a practical agriculturist. I have been thrown much amongst them; and although there is a great misapprehension amongst them as

to their real interests, I believe a greater body of practical agriculturists is with us than many suppose. I can only add, from my own experience in agriculture, from my own knowledge, and what I can glean from those whose opinions I consider the best, that so far from an alteration in the present corn laws tending in any way to throw land out of cultivation, the more probable result will be to bring more land into cultivation, and that cultivation, too, of a higher character.'

The proceedings of Wednesday morning were sufficient to mark the growing intensity with which the minds of the members of the conference had entered into the subject. After Mr. Chaplin had taken the chair, Mr. Curtis, from Ohio, was introduced to expound the bearing of the corn laws on the trade and produce of America, and the continuance of slavery in the United States. He discussed the question in a practical and comprehensive manner, and proved that free intercourse between the two nations would be productive of prosperity to both, and calculated to secure continued peace in their intercourse.

It is impossible to survey fully the whole procedure, or analyze the speeches of the various members who followed, proposing or supporting the propositions which had been prepared to be submitted to the conference. The philosophy of free trade, and the history and operation of a restrictive policy, were powerfully and convincingly developed in the addresses of Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Payne, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Berry, Mr. Giles, Dr. Ritchie, Mr. Harvey, and others, who moved or seconded the following propositions:

'1. That this conference, drawn together from various parts of the United Kingdom, having a general conviction of the existence of long-continued and still increasing distress affecting the community at large, and bearing with peculiar severity on the industrious classes, finds this conviction deeply confirmed by various statements and documentary evidence now laid before them, which clearly proves that vast numbers are incapable of obtaining by their labor a sufficiency of the common necessities of life for themselves and their families.'

'2. That, in the judgment of this conference, the prevailing distress painfully tends to arrest the progress of education, to prevent the exercise of domestic and social affections, to induce reckless and immoral habits, to prevent attendance on religious worship, and to harden the heart against religious impressions.'

'3. That, influenced at once by feelings of sympathy for the suffering poor, with whom their official duties bring them into daily contact, and by a deep interest in the success of the religion whereof they are ministers, this conference feels itself only acting from a strong sense of duty in examining into the causes of the existing distress, and even the example of our Saviour himself, in employing its utmost influence to alleviate or improve it.'

'4. That, in the face of the facts which have come under their

notice in their own respective neighborhoods, no less than by statements laid before them, the ministers composing this conference cannot avoid the painful conviction that much of the wide-spread distress of the present time is attributable to provision laws, inasmuch as they limit the supply, and thereby enhancing the cost of the common necessities of life, fetter industry, repress enterprise, divert the legitimate employment of capital, and spread discontent and heart-burning through the land.

‘ 5. That, believing that the laws of Almighty God, as revealed in his word, ought to be the laws of human action, and that any deviation from them, either in individual conduct or in the affairs of nations, must excite his displeasure ; and believing that the monopoly of bread is anti-christian in principle, this conference will seek the removal of the provision laws, and more especially deprecates their continuance as a great national offence against that Being by whom kings reign and princes decree justice.

‘ 6. That the laws which restrict the importation of the prime necessities of life are, in the judgment of this conference, essentially and manifestly unjust, and operate with peculiar hardship on the operative classes, by at once limiting the market for the disposal of the fruits of their labor, and raising the price of food, when they are least able to procure it.

‘ 7. That, in the undeniable fact of the reciprocal dependance of the several branches of the human family, this conference, recognising the admirable provision of the all-wise beneficent Creator for securing their individual happiness, maintaining their peaceful intercourse, and enhancing their collective welfare, in consequence feels itself solemnly bound to declare its uncompromising hostility to those legislative enactments which prevent the ever-increasing population of this country from exchanging the products of their manufacturing industry and skill, which they are especially enabled to proffer, for the food which they so much need, and which other countries are so well able and most anxious to give in return for them.

‘ 8. That no effectual relief can be supplied, either by parochial assessments, or the benefactions of private or associated charity ; that the necessary remedy for the existing distress is full employment and adequate remuneration ; and that it is in vain to hope to alleviate the laboring classes from their present depression, so long as the existing system of provision laws continues to interpose between the bounty of God and the necessities of his creatures.

‘ 9. That this conference, deeply interested in the maintenance of the various benevolent and religious institutions which exist in our country, and which depend for their support on the general prosperity of the community, is penetrated with the conviction that the resources of many of those institutions have been already materially affected by the prevailing distress ; and fears that, unless that distress be speedily and effectually alleviated, christians, instead of enlarging, must contract their sphere of benevolence.’

Such are the deliberate conclusions which after mature coun-

sel and grave discussion, the conference recognised as the basis of their subsequent proceedings. The principles embodied in these resolutions were clearly and fully established by arguments and facts which precluded all diversity of opinion, and commanded the unanimous concurrence of the conference. The day was well spent on which these great truths were affirmed by the representatives of fifteen hundred churches, to be promulgated to the nation as the testimony of religion against the impious laws which nullify the provision of a merciful Creator, and subject large bodies of human beings to penury and wretchedness.

Not less important was the third day for its proceedings. A deputation of intelligent mechanics, the representatives of skilled labor in every town of the kingdom, was admitted to convey their judgment of the system which taxes food, and obstructs the commerce by which labor is rewarded, and the poor are enabled to provide for their wants. A link of connexion was thus formed between the teachers of religion and the men on whom devolves the conduct of our manufactures, from which the happiest results may be anticipated. With the existence of reciprocal confidence between such portions of the community we may count on energy and co-operation. The case of the handloom weavers was introduced by three of their number; their address was appropriate, and their appearance, destitute of all stage effect, told on the conference with great power. Instead of cheers many tearful eyes saluted the humble sufferers, and showed them the sympathy of the conference. Facts were elicited by a *viva voce* examination of the delegates, which amply confirmed the darkest representations which had been given of the abject distress of the working classes. The full report of this inquiry should be put into the hand of every senator, and circulated by every Anti-Corn Law Association. Lord Ducie, who was present, confessed that he had never before understood the operation of corn laws in reference to spiritual things. So startled was this nobleman, that on the following day he instituted a close and personal inquiry into the representations made, and found them more than verified by respectable manufacturers of the town.

Two other deputations were admitted to the conference, and by their communications served to connect its proceedings with the feelings and views of the productive classes. The Operative Anti-Corn Law Association were allowed to address the conference by a deputation. Their delegates conducted themselves not only with propriety, but so as to add to the impulse of the movement, and to increase their own efficiency and importance. The impression of their written memorial, and of the speech of one of their members, was such as to give courage to the operatives in their prospective engagements. The council of the Anti-Corn Law League

applied for an audience of the conference, and were introduced to the platform. Sir T. Potter and several aldermen of Manchester, with the treasurer, chairman, and other members of the council, appeared as representatives of the league, and having appointed R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., to read their address, remained to testify their deep interest, till the close of the proceedings. Mr. Cobden again spoke on the question of free trade, and dispelled the delusions and sophistry employed by monopolists in defence of their system.

The conference was as anxious to ascertain the exact operation of monopoly in the agricultural districts as in the manufacturing towns, and nearly two full days were devoted to statements from the one as well as the other. There was no apprehension felt that the farmer's laborers found an elysium when bread was dear, or that their wages rose in proportion to the rise of provisions, any more than that the condition of the manufacturing population was not painfully distressing and aggravated in proportion as the price of food was increased and the supply of labor diminished. The whole relation and bearing of the investigation, whether affecting the farmer or his laborer, the production at home or the markets abroad, were deliberately canvassed and examined. Speechifying was not the aim of the members. They had come together on the most momentous subject which could engage their thoughts.

The value of this movement is not to be measured alone by the momentary, and, as some may imagine, the evanescent impression of the conference in convention. The subject has, indeed, been thus prominently brought before the whole country. The journals of every party and every district prove that public attention has been roused and riveted to the consideration of monopoly in food. The tide which rolled on toward Manchester, as the seat of deliberation, has already turned towards the distant regions from which the delegates had come, and the minds of men have been engaged in contemplating the object for which the convocation was called. But added to all this, evidence the most authentic and searching has been placed in the hands of the gentlemen who originated the undertaking, and we are glad to understand that it is already in process of publication, in such a form as to come within the reach, not only of every member of the conference, but of every benevolent person who wishes to promote the success of the inquiry. A condensed and well digested report of the documents and statements which were laid before the convention, will greatly facilitate the object of its sittings. But this report will only extend the knowledge which is already partially and locally possessed. The appalling state of the people has been

laid bare to the apprehension of selfish monopolists. They tremble at the exposure. Mr. Gisborne alluded to these parties when he said—

‘It is true, that we are here all agitators together, and our agitation has been denounced in very high places,—at least by those who we expect will be in very high places speedily,—for I have heard men who are expected to be high in office in a short time, state that it was inexcusable to excite the people on the subject of their food. Dry bread, then, is so exciting a subject to the British people, that it must not be mentioned amongst you.—You must not even suggest to the people of England, that any course of legislation can take place under which they should have a sufficient supply of dry bread. I dare say you may tell the working people about such things as stamps and conveyances on real property; but to suggest to them that under any system of legislation they and their families should have a sufficiency of bread for their support; and those who venture to do so, this conference, and the Anti-Corn Law League are denounced altogether, as unprincipled agitators, because they bring this subject before the British public.’

But we must have a regard to others: the suffering and discontented may learn hence a fearful truth—not only that there are others who, like themselves, are discontented, and are well nigh driven mad by oppression—but also that the sober and observant apprehend danger, while the oppressors of the people are quaking for the consequences of their unjust legislation. In this view of the matter, we say it becomes the men of peace, who love their country and dread the convulsions which have deluged other lands, to come forward promptly and prove their patriotism and their virtue, by seeking to stem the rising torrent. It is no longer optional whether measures of relief shall be devised. We say deliberately, the proceedings of the conference not only render it necessary that expression be given to opinion, but imperative necessity requires that something *be immediately done*. A solemn and fearful responsibility rests upon the men who attempt to stifle the inquiry or to suppress the information which has now been accumulated. Political spendthrifts must be reminded of the days when Parisian *sans-culottes* took merciless retribution on the men who had famished their country and trafficked in human misery. If any will be so mad as to attempt to set aside the just and necessary conclusions which facts have forced upon the ministers of religion, they may find, when it is too late, that the altar is no refuge and the throne no sanctuary. The duty which devolves on ministers of religion is plain. No delay must be permitted. The christian church must be aroused to exert every legitimate and moral influence for our country's good. The proposition to set apart the sixth of September as a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting is admirable, and will, we hope, be extensively observed in every town and

congregation. Let the monopolists witness the church of God in prostrate supplication, as Moses was when he fell down before the Lord. Let this be the first great act with which to introduce an administration formed to oppress and famish the people. But, moreover, let every separate congregation come before the parliament and the queen. Let every minister, as the leader of his people, and every head of a family, as a citizen and patriot, separately and apart petition the legislature for an utter and immediate abrogation of every statute which robs the poor, curses the land, and dishonors the God whom we profess to serve. Now is the day of deliverance or of retribution.

NOTE ON ART. III. IN THE AUGUST ECLECTIC.

WE readily insert the following communication from our esteemed friend the Rev. W. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, and in doing so beg respectfully to assure him that nothing was further from our intention than 'to insinuate a charge of plagiarism' against him. To all who have the pleasure of Mr. Alexander's acquaintance such a charge would appear simply ridiculous, while the mental independence and original thinking, which his volume evidences, would stamp it with a character of dishonesty abhorrent to our minds.

'To the Editor of the Eclectic Review.'

Edinburgh, August 18, 1841.

'MY DEAR SIR.

'In the review of my *'Lectures on the Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments,'* with which you have favored me in your number for this month (and for the very friendly character of which I am bound to express my deep obligations), you express an opinion to the effect that lectures iv., v., vi., and vii. in that volume are little more than a *waste* of effort on my part, 'especially after the immortal work of Dr. Pye Smith on the *'Testimony of the Scriptures to the Messiah.'*'

'I fear that the effect of this remark upon those of your readers who have not perused my lectures will be, to lead them to believe that in the part of the work specified I have done nothing more or else than follow my honored and truly learned friend and predecessor, Dr. Smith. As this is very far from being the case, I trust you will allow me (the question being one not of *opinion* as to the value of my statements, but of *fact* as to the contents of my volume) to place before you some of the leading features of difference between the truly 'immortal work of Dr. Smith' and my own. These I shall class under two heads, as follows:

'I. Subjects largely considered, and passages of Scripture relating

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to the Messiah, commented on in the *lectures*, but not in the *Scripture Testimony*.

‘Ages of prophecy, with their characteristic peculiarities

‘Criteria of the Messianic Prophecies.

‘Theory of Accommodation.

‘Peculiarities of the Prophetic Style.

‘[The three preceding subjects are noticed by Dr. Smith, but only in a brief and incidental manner.]

‘Gen. ix. 26, 27; xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18. Ps. xxii.; lxxii. Isa. lii. 13; liii. 12. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—27; xxxvii. 1—28. Dan. ix. 24—27. Hos. i. 10. Amos ix. 11, 12. Joel ii. 28—32. Acts xv. 14—17. 1 Pet. i. 19—21.

‘II. Messianic Prophecies translated or explained differently in the *Lectures* and in the *Scripture Testimony*.

‘Gen. iii. 15; xlix. 8—12. 2 Sam. vii. 18, 19; xxiii. 2—5. Job xix. 25; xxxiii. 23—28. Ps. xl. cx. Isa. vii. 14—16.

‘From these lists it will be seen that the differences between Dr. Smith and me relate to some of the most important parts of the Old Testament prophecies of the Messiah. Many of the passages of most importance to my subject did not come within that of Dr. Smith, and are consequently omitted by him; e. g., Gen. xii. 3. Ps. xxii. lxxii. Isa. liii., &c. In those cases in which I have differed from Dr. Smith in the translation or explanation of a passage, I have always done so with diffidence, and it would not surprise me to find it shown by my critics that where I have thus differed, I have erred. To be told this, however, is very different from being told that I have so slavishly followed Dr. Smith as to have only *wasted* my time in writing four out of the eight lectures of which my volume is composed.

‘As I am sure, from the whole tone of the article in the *Eclectic*, of the friendly feeling of the writer of it towards myself, I feel confident that he will not take ill this attempt to set him right in the matter to which this communication relates. Had his remark not seemed to me to insinuate a charge of plagiarism, or at least of unnecessarily traversing ground that had been already appropriated, I should not have presumed to call it in question.

‘I remain, my dear Sir,

‘Yours very truly,

‘W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER.’

Brief Notices.

The True Church Viewed in Contrast with Modern High-Churchism.
By Thomas Finch.

Would that all controversies were conducted in the spirit and with the ability which Mr. Finch has displayed in this his masterly refutation of Puseyism and its cognate heresies. We admire his modesty and christian temper; while it is impossible on scriptural grounds to

resist the cogency of his arguments. The author states his object in a few words, namely, 'to take a general view of the true church of Christ according to the New Testament, in contrast with the anti-christian character and tendency of certain high-church principles now so zealously avowed and maintained.' This he has succeeded in accomplishing in a very able discussion of the following topics:—the Theory of Modern High-Churchism—the Church of the New Testament—the Exclusive Pretensions of the English Church—the Conscientiousness of Protestant Dissenters—the Aversion of High-Churchmen to Protestantism—the Authority and Traditions of the Nicene Church—the Efficacy of Christian Sacraments—the Exercise of Charity in cases of Heresy and Schism—the Unity and Prosperity of the Christian Church—the Political Influence of High Church Principles—the Present Duties and Prospects of the true Church.

Among the antagonists of the modern heresy Mr. Finch's principles, as a Protestant and a dissenter, have placed him on the highest vantage ground. His unpretending volume deserves the widest circulation.

The Widow directed to the Widow's God. By John Angell James. 12mo. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Birmingham: B. Hudson. 1841.

This little work supplies a want which has existed too long. We have 'Guides' and 'Counsels' to all kinds of persons, and almost to every variety of character. But until the present moment, no suitable help had been extended to the disconsolate widow. Mr. James has accomplished a task for which the cast of his mind, and his extended and varied experience, admirably qualify him. The work is divided into three parts. **FIRST.** Sympathy, submission, instruction, consolation, confidence, benefits of affliction. **SECOND.** Scriptural biography of widows. **THIRD.** Letters to and from widows. Some of these topics are suitable to *all* cases of affliction; but Mr. James has managed to give many of them a special application to his particular object, with singular ability; and we wish he had done so with all. He has wisely restrained his fancy in the second part, and told the narrative, and brought out the instruction they are designed to convey, in a very natural and interesting manner. Of the 'letters,' we were much struck with that of Mrs. Lewis, giving her widowed mother an account of her own husband's death, and her own feelings and views under the bereavement. It is very beautiful, and full of interest and pathos. Most of the others, as that of Howe to Lady Russell, are too well known to require a remark.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Shortly will be published, under the authority of the Executors, by Hamilton, Adams, and Co., *Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the late Mr. William Dawson.* By James Everett.

Just Published.

Homilies for the Times ; or, Rome and her New Allies : a Plea for the Reformation. By the Rev. John Morison, D.D. This work, which has been delayed by the indisposition of the author, is now with the booksellers.

A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians. By James Ferguson, Minister at Kilwinning. Ward's Standard Divinity.

The True Church, viewed in contrast with Modern High-Churchism. By Thomas Finch.

The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. By Robert Philip.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part VII. Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 16.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Part VII.

The Hall of Vision, a View of Principles ; a Poem in three books : with Minor Poems. By William Leask. Second Edition.

A Practical English Grammar. By Edward Walter Wickes. A new edition.

The Christian Church, a New Tract for the Times. By Samuel Davis, Needham Market. Second Thousand.

Scriptural Illustration of the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh verses of the First Chapter of Genesis, or the Purpose of Christ's Incarnation declared before the Creation of the first Adam. Addressed to MAN, by a Layman of the Established Church.

The Goodness of Divine Providence Explained and Illustrated. By Robert Maxwell Macbrair.

A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the Decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By John Daillé, Minister of the Reformed Church of Paris. Translated from the French and revised by the Rev. T. Smith, M.A. Now re-edited and amended, with a Preface, by Rev. G. Jekyll, LL.B.

Solitude recommended to the Christian Minister. A Sermon preached before the Clergy of Lausanne and Vevay, May 22, 1839. By the Rev. A. Vinet, Professor of Theology in the University of Lausanne. Translated from the second edition, by Augustus Taylor, B.A.

Amenities of Literature, consisting of Sketches and Characters of English Literature. By I. D'Israeli. In three vols.

The North American Review. No. CXII. July, 1841.

The Domestic Dictionary and Housekeeper's Manual. Edited by Gibbons Merle.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Julius Cæsar.

The Critic in Parliament and in Public since 1835.

Select Poetry for Children ; with brief Explanatory Notes. Arranged for the use of Schools and Families. By Joseph Payne.

Sermons by the late Rev. Luke Forster, with a Sketch of his Life by the Rev. John Ely.

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